

# Afro-Peruvian Identity and Its Connection with the Land: The Guayabo-Chincha Case

By

Carola Ramírez Castello

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Committee Members:

Elizabeth Anne Kuznesof, Phd.

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Chairperson

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J. Christopher Brown, Phd.

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Brent E. Metz, Phd.

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The Thesis committee for Carola Ramírez Castello certifies  
that this is the approved Version of the following thesis:

**Afro-Peruvian Identity and Its Connection with the Land:  
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Elizabeth Anne Kuznesof, Phd.

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Chairperson

Date approved:\_\_\_\_\_

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## **Abstract:**

Most contemporary Afro-Peruvian communities suffer social, spatial and economic discrimination. The country's hierarchical social structure is the legacy left by the Spaniards since the colonial period. National rhetoric on race also disparages the contribution of African descended communities to Peru's culture. By contrast, the community of El Guayabo in southern Peru has developed a strong, positive identity. This thesis presents an analysis of the attributes of positive identity developed in El Guayabo, researched through a process of interviews and participant observation. This thesis will investigate how the community of Guayabo could develop such a positive self identity as compared to other Afro-Peruvian communities, mainly those in the capital of Lima. For the people of El Guayabo this positive identity is focused on the organization of their community with a social and economic attachment to land, work, music, and cultural heritage.

## **Acknowledgements**

First of all I would like to thank to my parents for encouraging me to defend what is fair. They taught me to value who I am, and to love my Peruvian heritage. Since I was a child, they showed me the different faces of my country and cultivated in me our cultural expressions. Overall, I am grateful to all my friends and family for supporting me all the time; I could not have made this without them.

I want to thank all my Guayabo family that generously helped me to conduct this research. They guided and cared for me during the two months I shared with the community. I want to make a special mention of my friend “Marito” Cartagena, who died while I was in El Guayabo. He helped me very much to understand the culture and life of his town. I want to thank Sandra Farfán, without whom I could not interview so many people. She gave me another home.

Last but not least, thanks to the encouragement of Dr. Elizabeth Kuznesof who always propelled me to do my best and for helping me to improve my writing skills. Also I would like to thank Dr. J. Chris Brown for giving me my own sense of “place” and my perspective toward people with his holistic point of view, and I want to thank Dr. Brent Metz for his lessons on ethnic groups pointing at the attention and recognition in their very deep value.

A special thanks to the Tinker Foundation, since without their support I could not have concluded this project

Thank you so much.

## **I. Introduction:**

Discrimination and racism have been challenges to Afro-Peruvians. Since the first African arrived in Peru. Being an Afro-Peruvian was never easy, and in the capital it was worse because of the predominance of the white elite there. Afro-Peruvians remained in the peripheries socially and spatially. In the cities, Afro-Peruvians lived in the city's slums, and in the countryside they were isolated from the haciendas' houses. They were never treated like this in Africa, and they found themselves far away and subjugated. They remained in this position since colonial times, and since then their self esteem was constantly undermined.

Having limited resources to assert themselves in the society, Afro-Peruvians were constantly fighting against prejudice. The main Afro-Peruvian stereotypes are football players, artists and cooks, and Afro-Peruvians with to be recognized for their full humanity.

To gain a positive identity as Afro-Peruvian is a challenge, but a worthy one to undertake. The case of El Guayabo is an example of what can be achieved by a positive identity which is partly based on their ownership of land. In this thesis I will explore how the land-people relationship was important as part of identity formation. I seek to answer how the land supports the culture of the community, the bases of El Guayabo positive identity, how El Guayabo community developed more positive identity than other Afro communities on the coast, and which influences of indigenous elements are prevalent in the culture.

My first contact with El Guayabo was in 1995, as a part of my undergraduate training in Physical Anthropology, in the Anthropology laboratory at San Marcos University in Lima-Peru. During the research, the scientific work was done during the day while in the afternoon we gathered with the people in the communal saloon in order to observe their traditional dance and music performances.

The first chapter of this thesis describes the most important events that influenced El Guayabo's history and land tenure characteristics. This chapter will analyze the reasons why and how Africans came to Peru and the historical changes that influenced the development of the Afro-Peruvian communities such as El Guayabo in the coastal environment. This little town of El Guayabo was founded as a consequence of its proximity to a very important *hacienda*, the Hacienda San José, where the ancestors of El Guayabo settlers used to work. The majority of the present inhabitants nowadays are of African descent and a very low percent have Indigenous origins. The town is unique in that it has no streets, and spatially the houses are randomly distributed.

The second chapter addresses the importance of the El Guayabo collective and its uniqueness among the Afro-Peruvian communities. Here I want to show the image of the community's dynamics and the overall historical changes they passed through in order to become the community they are today. I went to El Guayabo to interview these Afro-Peruvian inhabitants and discover the source of their positive identity. In the third chapter, I analyze the arriving black population and how it interacted and permeated the already existing Indigenous-Spanish society and how Afro-Peruvians took advantage of ubiquitous materials and foods in their environment to create a new culture that combined African, Spanish and Indigenous. Chapter four analyzes how the El Guayabo villagers



shaped a particular space to create their home and why they have chosen an apparently random settlement pattern and unique house design. This part of the work emphasizes the symbolization process as it relates to the formation of the El Guayabo cultural landscape. Chapter five pursues the affirmation of positive identity in El Guayabo, emphasizing the land-identity relationship constructed through historical development.

During the period of June 10-August 3, 2008, I completed forty eight ethnographic interviews and observations in *El Guayabo, Chincha*. I gathered information about their culture and how much they know about its history and traditional changes. Second, I gathered information about their family and social structure, their relation with the capital, national celebrations and holidays. And third, I asked about their music, dance and cooking, how they have changed and if they think they have other influences in these cultural manifestations. Before I went to El Guayabo, I had already collected information from the Susana Bacca's library, called "Instituto Negro Continuo", and the National Library in Peru. Likewise I analyzed Pancho Fierro's paintings and chronicles, in which we can observe the syncretism of indigenous, Spanish and the authentic slave manifestations. I did two interviews with Rafael Santa Cruz, an Afro Peruvian musician and researcher of Afro Peruvian music and history. His unique perspective is significant to my research because he has a genuine Afro Peruvian point of view. In my observations I will include the role of the Indigenous people within the community and the way they became a part of this Afro community. For sampling I used semi-structured ethnographic interviews (Bernard 2006, Spradley 1979) specially designed for developing countries (Fife, 2005). For the recording of the interviews I will

used a digital video recorder, and my written observations of local relations and hierarchy, if any.

The search for literature to support this thesis was arduous, due to the lack of research done in this part of the territory. Even the majority of the available literature had a slant, toward anthropology, or history, and I needed to combine disciplines in order to support my approach. I also needed interviews to recreate the local history. These together with the lack of recent works about Afro-Peruvians of the southern coast; make this work a useful tool for a better understanding of human groups such as El Guayabo.

Included in the literature supporting this thesis is Frederick P. Bowser's book "*The African Slave in Colonial Peru 1524-1650*" as an historical base to explain the Atlantic slave trade, and "*Conquest and Agrarian Change: The Emergence of the Hacienda System on the Peruvian Coast*" by Robert Keith was important to support the historical part of the transition from slavery to the hacienda system. The Afro-Peruvian development in the urban areas is well explained in the Aldo Panfinchi's work "*Africanía y barrios populares y cultura criolla a inicios del siglo XX*". Panfinchi presents a retrospective view of the development of Afro-Peruvian population in Lima and the spatial distribution in the capital since the colonial period. The work of Manuel Cisneros, "*Pancho Fierro y la Lima del 800*", also supports this point, showing the work of the watercolorist who was a graphic chronicler from his era, painting the different aspects of colonial Lima. And for the rural historical background, Milagros Carazas' work, "*Acuntilu tilu ñao: Tradición oral de Chincha*" constituted an important source of information, not only for the history but also for the way collective memory is addressed. Collective memory as an important part of the identity formation was also addressed in

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the Tania Golash-Boza's work '*Lost in the Dark*', which provided an important point of comparison to explain differences between Afro-Peruvians living in different parts of the coast.

To define and understand identity, I used the work of Audrey Smedley, "*Race and the Construction of Human Identity*", which explains the process of individual construction of identity based in the race concept. This work was contrasted with "*The Context of Social Identity: Domination, Resistance and Change*" written by Stephen Reicher, which focuses on collective identity, and how human groups react collectively to different influences.

The book "*Human Geography: Culture, Society and Landscape*" by Harm J. De Blij, and Peter O. Muller, provided the basis to apply the cultural landscape approach to this work. Another work that was pivotal to my approach was "*Symbolism and the Cultural Landscape*" from Lester B. Rowntree, and Margaret W. Conkey. This work focuses on the environmental-symbol formation as a product of an historical process. They explain how existing environmental symbols constitute an important element for collective identity of some human groups.

## **II. Black Peruvian History**

Afro-Peruvians have been a part of the Peruvian society since 1535. Since the first Africans arrived in the Peruvian territory, several historical events have changed their lives and social position. Spaniards brought the Africans as a labor force, and the Africans also brought their culture with them, as well as their previous skills in tropical farming (Davidson, 1991: 205) and their sense of connection to the land they tilled (Davidson, 1991: 205). When Afro-Peruvians arrived on the coast, they had to share their subdued condition and social space with Indigenous people, with whom they exchanged culture. From the colonial period to the present, Afro-Peruvians have gone from being slaves and peons, to land owners. While previous governments supported their rights to land ownership regime, current government-supported neo-liberal policies restructured has diminished support creating economic instability in El Guayabo.

This chapter describes the most important events that have influenced El Guayabo's history and land tenure. This chapter will analyze why and how the Africans came to Peru, as well as how they dealt with their new challenges. I will analyze mainly the historical changes that influenced the development of the Afro-Peruvian communities in the coastal environment, especially the development of El Guayabo.

The Peruvian coast has been populated by state civilizations approximately since 2,627 B.C<sup>1</sup>. These coastal groups were heavily dependant on large complex irrigation systems to provide adequate supplies of food (Keith, 1976: 10). These hydraulic societies had highly centralized administrative systems that organized the population as a labor

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<sup>1</sup> The most ancient culture in the central coast of Peru is Caral, which belongs to the Pre-ceramic period. Dates from the site of Caral in the Supe Valley of Peru indicate that architecture, urban settlement, and irrigation agriculture had begun in the Americas by 2627 B.C. (Solis et al., 2001:223)

force for building projects such as the irrigation canals (Keith, 1976:11). It was advantageous for the coastal societies to regulate their use of water over fairly wide areas (Keith, 1976: 12) because of the seasonal lack of rain on the coast.



Between 1460 and 1480, these coastal groups were conquered by the Incas. When the Incas occupied Chincha, their main concern was to obtain a share of the wealth of the coast and to take advantage of the already productive system, so they had little desire to change things very much (Keith, 1976: 19). Under the rule of the Inca Empire, the Chincha and Ica valleys were divided into two groups, Lurin

and Hanan respectively, and their land was used to grow maize for the highlands (Keith, 1976: 21). This means that at the time of the conquest, the Spaniards found an already organized agricultural society. When the Spaniards arrived, Chincha and Cuzco were described to them as the wealthiest and most important towns to the South because of their complex and developed economy that relied not only on agriculture but also on industry and commerce.

Spaniards also took advantage of the productive system when they received large *encomiendas*<sup>2</sup> from the Crown. These labor and tribute of the inhabitants were granted to the leaders of the expeditions of conquest; Chincha belonged to Hernando Pizarro, the governor's oldest brother and second in command during the conquest. The Chincha *encomienda* had an approximate tributary population of 30,000, and was second in importance in all of Peru. The most important was Cuzco. By 1540, the coastal land-grants began to be insufficient for Spanish demand (Keith, 1976: 36) due to the increase of *encomenderos* on the coast and the falling Indigenous population.

The Spaniards found the hacienda a more effective and productive system. The

Valleys	Year		
	c. 1525	c. 1575	c. 1600
Chincha	30,000	979	316
Lima-Pachacamac	25,000	1,373	594
Huarmey-Huaura	30,000	1,089	707
Total	85,000	3,441	1,617

**Fig. 2.** Table showing the numbers of tribute payers. It presents the decline in the number of Indigenous people. Robert Keith, *Conquest and Agrarian Change* 1976: 42

*encomienda* system extracted goods produced by the Indians. The hacienda system generally involved less land and a different kind of labor force. It focused on the production of crops required by the Spaniards, and was more efficient. Instead of Indigenous *mita*<sup>3</sup> workers who also paid tribute to the Crown, the hacienda contracted more permanent laborers. The first haciendas were probably founded after 1570 in this

<sup>2</sup> That is the name given to the labor system employed by the Spaniards, to exploit what the Indians produced. The *encomenderos* were responsible for a number of Indians and land in order to extract goods for the Crown.

<sup>3</sup> *Mita* was the obligatory public service during the Inca Empire. It was a form of tribute.

part of the southern coast (Keith, 1976:79). At the same time, the Indian societies on which the *encomenderos* depended were changing in ways that decreased their ability to support the Spanish population. These changes, which occurred with exceptional speed on the coast, were brought on by catastrophic depopulation and profound political and social disorganization caused by the hard labor imposed on the Indians by the Spaniards and the diseases introduced by them.

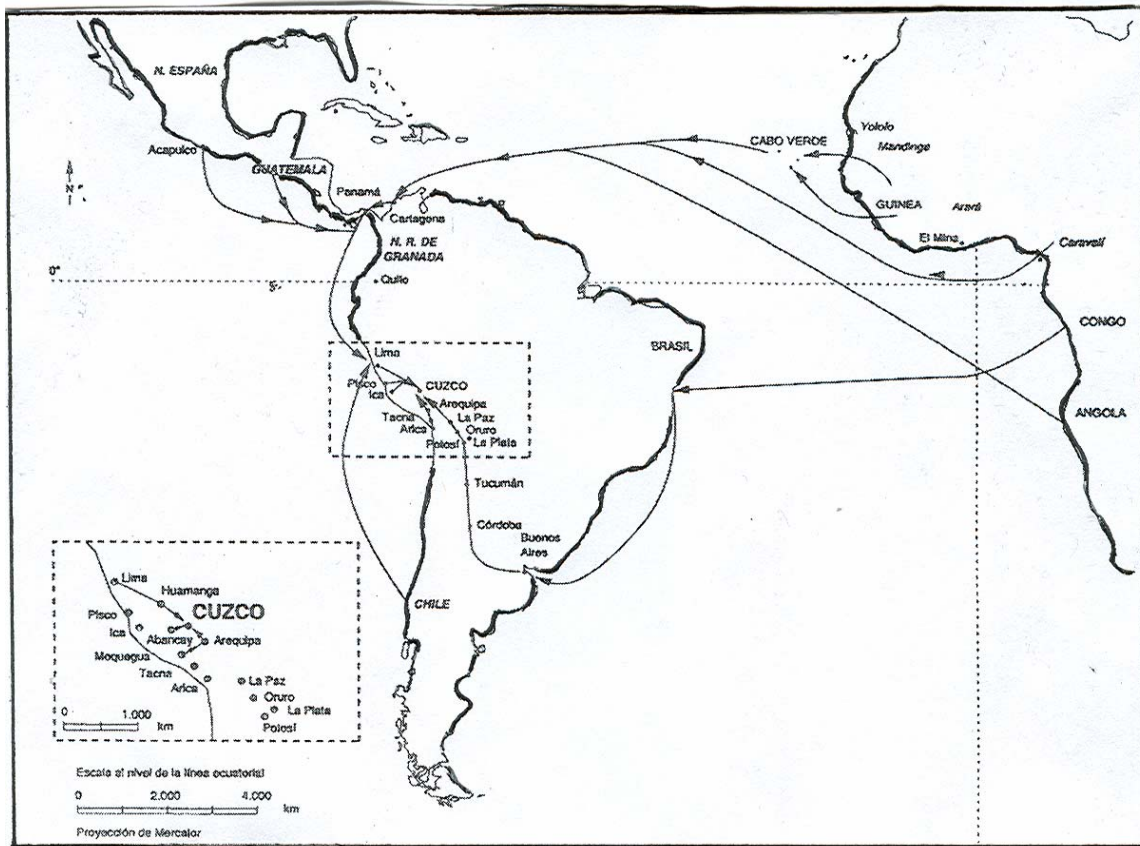
The rapid decline of the Indigenous population during the sixteenth century obligated the Spaniards to look for other sources of labor. Thus, by the end of the sixteenth century their enterprises had become almost independent of traditional Indian society (Keith, 1976:131) and had come to rely primarily on the labor of slaves imported from Africa (Keith, 1976: 97). Parallel to the transition from the *encomienda* to the *hacienda* system, was the transition from Indigenous to African labor.

## **II A. The Journey of Enslaved Africans**

During colonial times, tens of millions of Africans were enslaved and sold to work in the New World (Aguirre, 2005:19). Peru was only one of many colonies in need of African slaves in order to replace the decimated indigenous populations. The journey of the enslaved African people started in the African ports, and continued in a Portuguese or Spanish ship, sailing to the Caribbean port of Cartagena, Colombia. Cartagena at this time was the chief slave depot for the surrounding area and Peru. Afterwards the ships proceeded to *Portobello* in Panama or followed the Pacific route (Bowser 1974:62). Other enslaved Africans were taken to the port of Buenos Aires in Argentina. This was the path that allowed the African slaves to reach the highlands of Peru.

In 1518, a ship in Spanish service carried the first cargo of Africans directly from the Guinean coast to the Americas, and in this way initiated a trade that lasted for three and a half centuries. Guinea was a suitable place to establish a port for the slave trade due to the African social system. The African system was based on a subsistence economy, with no wage-labor. Without a labor market, Africans functioned by organizing people for traditional forms of labor. More often, slaves could be peasants whose status differed little from that of the serfs of Medieval Europe. Moreover these systems were not slave based economies and lacked the whole-sale alienation of land into private ownership that could deprive people of their independent livelihood (Davidson, 1991:209). In Africa, enslaved people were used for households or military services, for the accumulation of food or handmade goods, and for gifts or a means of exchange. Household slaves used to live with their masters often as members of the family. (Davidson, 1991:209).





**Fig. 3.** Map of the Slave trade showing the route to the highlands. Jean Pierre Tardeu, "El Negro en el Cuzco" 1998:17

The majority of slaves that arrived in South America came from three main areas of Africa. The first was the Guinean region, from Senegal to Sierra Leone where the *mandingas*, *yolofos*<sup>4</sup> *cavoverdes*<sup>5</sup> originated. The second area was the Sao Tome Islands, from the limits of Sierra Leone to the western part of Nigeria, the origin of the *minas* from *Elmina*, the *araras* from *Aladá* and the *caravalís* from *Calabar* bay (Tardeu, 1998:19). The third area was more to the south of the African coastal territory, in the kingdoms of Congo and Angola, home to the *congos*, *angolas* and *malembas*, from the

<sup>4</sup> Wolofes

<sup>5</sup> From the Cape-Verde Islands

extended *bantú* family. When the Africans arrived in Lima during the sixteenth century, most of the slaves came from the west coast of Africa. The Spanish preferred slaves from the Congo and Angola regions as the natives of these zones were known for their cheeriness and hard work (Bowser, 1974:72).

The first Africans, enslaved or not,<sup>6</sup> arrived on the coasts of *Tumbes* in northern Peru in 1526, together with Alonso de Molina. Nothing amazed the principal Lord of Tumbes more than the color of the African's skin. The Indians thought that the color was the result either of diet or some stain. They attempted to wash the African but in vain (Gray: 1951: 3). The first slave cargo ship arrived on the coast of Peru around 1535 (Bowser, 1974:4). The majority of African slaves on the Peruvian coast came from Congo or Angola, and these men brought with them their culture, language and beliefs. Once in Peru in the port of Callao, exhausted by the journey, naked, thirsty and frightened, they were taken to the *Feria de los negros*<sup>7</sup> to be sold. Once purchased, slaves were usually lodged in the back patios of their purchasers homes (Bowser, 1974:52).

Hundreds of slaves were purchased in the first years of the conquest. Some slaves were bought to work in households, others in construction and public works. During the following 300 years around 100,000 slaves were introduced into Peru. Even though the slave population formed a small percentage of the population during the Viceroyalty in Peru, their concentration in specific areas meant that there were zones of high density black population. In urban areas, the Afro-Peruvians were located in the districts such as Cercado de Lima, Rimac, and La Victoria (Panfinchi: 2000: 2). In the countryside, the majority of the slaves were located where the haciendas were, in the coastal areas of

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<sup>6</sup> Not all the Africans that arrived in Peru were slaves, according to Rafael Santa Cruz; there were also free Africans working for the Spaniards.

<sup>7</sup> Black fair was the place in the Callao port where the African slaves were sold.

*Lima, Trujillo and Lambayeque* and in the rural zones in the agricultural valleys like *Jequetepeque, Santa, Cañete and Pisco*<sup>8</sup>. (Aguirre, 2005:21-22). My work focuses on the former *haciendas San José, San Regis, Larán, Guayabo, Chamorro, Hoja Redonda and Chincha Baja* in *Ica*, particularly in *Chincha*.

Although most haciendas were located along the coast, there are other important Afro-Peruvian settlements in northern Peru. In Ingenio, around *Hacienda Yapatera* in *Piura*, the majority of the residents are of African descent, but with no collective memory of their enslavement (Golash-Boza, 2007:127). In this work the residents of Ingenio have collectively forgotten the transatlantic slave trade and that their ancestors were brought from Africa (Golash-Boza, 2007:131). Their current poor condition is a consequence of the slave trade and the idea of slavery gives the Ingenio settlers a negative connotation of their origins, with no positive sense of African culture to balance it with.

In Peru, the church developed *cofradías* as a vehicle to Christianize the Africans and the Indians. However, the Africans used them to plan revolts, in addition to other religious practices and magic, and also performed music and dances of African origin. They concealed their practices and avoided persecution of the Inquisition. The first *cofradía* in Lima was founded in 1540 as a branch of a *Cofradia del Santisimo Sacramento* (Bowser, 1974: 245-246). A *cofradía* in Lima was an institution of welfare and credit, where people worshiped a saint and engaged in socio cultural and spiritual practices such as processions, among other activities. According to the document sent to the Crown from the Archbishop of Lima, in 1619, there were 15 *cofradías* of blacks and *mulatos* in the capital that were sponsored by religious orders: six were only for blacks, three for *mulatos*, and six for blacks and *mulatos*. (Bowser, 1974:248-250).

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<sup>8</sup> This two last are now two of the main black population centers.

The authorities always oversaw these *cofradias* with care. The *Cabildo de Lima*<sup>9</sup> complained that these institutions were nothing but gatherings to plan assaults on the roads and drinking, and in some aspects they were right. The Cabildo was also aware of the Indian-African relationships. The relationships between blacks and Indians were good, but the Spaniards distrusted them. The *Cabildo de Lima* announced a law in which it was forbidden for the blacks to have an Indian wife or concubine, under penalty of castration and removal of ears for women (Rowstorowski, 2000:31).

The *cofradias* were the only institutions in which African-Peruvians could achieve public and religious positions. This caused conflicts between the *cofradias*. The most common dispute between *cofradias* were over the positions in the procession line in the religious festivities, because the closer the *cofradia* was to the *custodio*<sup>10</sup>, the greater their social status. All the *cofradias* waited for the most important religious party of all, *Corpus Cristi*. It was celebrated around the end of May and middle of June, and lasted eight days. This religious celebration was important because the *cofradias* had the opportunity to dance in front of the Viceroy in the main plaza. In this procession the dancers of the *cofradias* were dressed in a grotesque way and performed war dances, in the company of dancers dressed as giants, with big heads and little devils, characterizing the devil. This kind of performance may have been the first black dance in Peruvian territory. Other religious icons were born related to the *cofradias* and the Afro-Peruvians. In 1670, a *cofradia*<sup>11</sup> initiated one of the most important Peruvian religious traditions: the

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<sup>9</sup> Town Council

<sup>10</sup> Group of people from the church carrying the tabernacle for the mass that always preceded the procession.

<sup>11</sup> *Cofradias* or sodalities, were religious association in which the Afro-Peruvians were organized.

worshipping of *Señor de los Milagros*<sup>12</sup>, which eventually became one of the most important religious festivities in Lima and South America. The *cofradías* were not the only way Afro-Peruvians gathered. During the seventeenth century, Africans gathered with other Africans of similar origins to recreate music and celebrate beliefs based on their collective memory.

Africans were considered at the very bottom of the social hierarchy because of their enslaved position. Indians were considered superior to the blacks, because they were not slaves (Rostorowski, 2000:35).<sup>13</sup> In 1670, the population of Lima was 14,000 inhabitants categorized as 38.9%, secular Spaniards, 41.9% blacks, 3% *mulatos*, 7.9 % Indians, 0.8% *mestizos*, and 6.9% Spaniards in religious orders (Bowser, 1974:75). In the countryside, Afro-Peruvians had other types of pressure; they were exposed to hard working conditions and torture. However, they overcame their condition and expressed themselves, creating other cultural manifestations that appeared inside the haciendas; inside the *galpones*<sup>14</sup>, *palenques* and *quilombos*<sup>15</sup>. Unfortunately there are no documented sources about the places where many of the cultural expressions and traditions were born in the country side. There are only some oral descriptions and chronicles, which is why the use of ethnography in the study of Afro-Peruvian culture is vital.

## II B. From the Jesuits to the Hacienda

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<sup>12</sup> Lord of the Miracles.

<sup>13</sup> From Maria Rostorowski, *Lo Africano en la Cultura Criolla* 35.

<sup>14</sup> The places in the haciendas where the slaves were gathered

<sup>15</sup> The places the slaves settled when they fled. In these places, the runaway slaves, also called *cimarrones*, made music and dances.

Some modern historians depict the Jesuits as one of the most powerful economic forces in the colonies prior to their expulsion in 1767 (Brown, 1987: 24). Jesuits gained agricultural and commercial properties in order to support their charities, schools, missions and other labors (Brown, 1987:24). During the colonial period, the Company of Jesus owned fourteen sugarcane haciendas, fifteen of grapes and six of other products on the coast, among them San José (Flores, 1996: 45).

The Hacienda San José was settled as a sugarcane plantation in 1688 with 87 African slaves. The Jesuits were not interested in increasing production to achieve a commercial level, but only to maintain a level of production that allowed them to sustain themselves. The Jesuits were not true capitalists; they saw little need to maximize their profits as long as their estates produced a secure and substantial income (Brown, 1987: 42). Moreover, the Jesuits knew the economic importance of slaves, hence, they carefully protected their well being by providing food, clothing and medical assistance for them, which in return promoted the slave's loyalty and guaranteed efficiency (Macera, 1966: 83). Perhaps, that was the reason for their success and the later reason for their trouble. The size of the Jesuits' resources provoked the envy and criticism of the other orders, and the Crown (Brown, 1987: 42). For this the Spanish Crown expelled the Jesuits from their colonies in 1767 (Brown, 1987: 23). The *Real Junta de Temporalidades*<sup>16</sup> confiscated the Jesuits' wealth to evaluate the Crown earnings. Then, the Hacienda San José was sold to Count Monteamor y Monteblanco, whose descendants maintained it until the end of the nineteenth century.

Due to the change in administration, the agricultural production of the haciendas decreased dramatically. The new owners did not administer the haciendas in an efficient

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<sup>16</sup> Temporal institution named by the Crown to evaluate and manage the order patrimony.

manner; they tried to increase production by demanding more work from the slaves without treating the slaves well. The slaves did not like the bad treatment of the masters. These policies reflected the general crisis of the Spanish empire at the end of the eighteenth century. This crisis intensified the already existing and frustrating situation of the Afro-Peruvians, and the over exploited Indigenous population.

Independence came on July 28, 1821 led by Jose de San Martin and his army. Unfortunately, the Republic did not bring change for the enslaved Afro-Peruvians. If it was true that some achieved manumission by buying it or by being released by the master, this was a small minority.

## **II C. Lima of the 1800's: Control and Manumission**

From the late eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century, the colonial system was in crisis. The transfer to republican governments, the industrial revolution and the expansion of capitalism revolutionized the international political economy. The decline of the slave system came as a consequence, after several slave uprisings. As an example, the new owners of hacienda San Jose imposed a new and hard regime and a riot broke out in 1779. The owner, the official of the town and one hundred and fifty men stopped the slaves' riot after several deaths (Kapsoli, 1975:66-71). These kinds of protests were a consequence of the bad conditions and decadence of slavery. This was when the massive flight of slaves started. In the period between 1840 and 1846, 42% of men and 36 % of women fled from their haciendas. This is an example of the tension of the time, where the *cimarrones*<sup>17</sup> were the concern of the dominant classes because they were an example to other slaves of what they could do. The *cimarrones*

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<sup>17</sup> Run away slaves

gathered in isolated and hard to reach zones, far away from the main cities or towns, in semi-independent communities called *palenques* where they tried to recover some of their culture and where religion and ethnicity played an important role. It was in places like this that some of the rural types of music were born.

In this period, the syncretic elements in the society were visible, as Afro-Peruvian cultural expressions were mixed with Spanish and Indian elements. It is possible to detect them in artistic expressions as well as oral history. The *mulato* watercolorist *Pancho Fierro* was an important graphic narrator of this time, capturing the normal life of Lima and the face of the Afro-Peruvian society in his paintings. Even so, his work reflects the positive aspects and culture of the Afro-Peruvians in Lima during the eighteenth hundreds. In his paintings, it is easy to appreciate the creation of new instruments and rhythms with guitars and *cajones*.

In this period, religion constituted an important tool for the control of slaves. Through marriages, baptisms and religious festivities, the owners of the haciendas were interested in having a chapel and services for the slaves as a source of pride and a way of keeping the slaves under control. Following these rules was vital for the slaves' safety, but what happened behind the haciendas' big houses, where the slaves celebrated their faith in their own way, was very different. The practices of their customs remained hidden until their emancipation.

The abolition of slavery occurred on December 3 of 1854 in the Decree of Huancayo (Rodrigues, 1997: 46). The Decree, promulgated by Ramon Castilla, has only one article:

**Art. Único.** Los varones y las mujeres tenidas hasta ahora en el Perú por esclavos o por siervos libertos, sean que su condición provenga de haber sido enajenados



como tales o de haber nacido de vientres esclavos, sea que de cualquier modo se hallen sujetos a servidumbre perpetua o temporal; todos, sin distinción de edad, son desde hoy para siempre enteramente libres<sup>18</sup>.

The other side of the abolition of slaves was that now the Afro Peruvians were left to their own devices. They were free, but without a place to go, and their freedom was sometimes worse than slavery. The overhaul of the hacienda system obligated the state to support the elite by alleviating the burden of maintaining the slaves. On the contrary, in some other areas of rural Peru, the hacienda system supported itself in new ways. For El Guayabo villagers, for example, they were “free” in theory but not in fact. The change to the Hacienda system and the *yanaconaje* or peonage, only changed the type of dependence, because with the hacienda the peons were eternally in debt. In Chincha, the *hacendados* found other ways to go on with their productive system. As Milagros Carazas points out:

“The hacienda system during the Republic was not affected in Chincha. Contrary to that, to face the slaves’ manumission, other foreign labor forces were hired. They replaced the blacks with Chinese and European immigrants. The first ones arrived illegally between 1842 and 1874 and settled down in Alto Larán.” (Carazas, 2002: 226).

Not all the slaves were replaced, but since they were not allowed to buy more blacks, the *hacendados* could only hire the available Afro- Peruvian workers in the region, in addition to the new imported labor force.

## **II D. Leguía, Bustamante y Rivero and the Impulse of the Black Culture.**

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<sup>18</sup> Article one: Men and women that had been slaves in Peru, were abused as slaves, or born into slavery, whatever the cause of perpetual or temporary enslavement, without regard to age or condition are declared free for this day forward.

The Augusto B. Leguía government lasted from 1908 to 1930, and it was one of the longest administrations during Peruvian history. Leguía's administration had as one



**Fig. 4.** Picture of Nicomedes Santa Cruz.  
“Lo Africano en la cultura criolla”. 2000 :187

of his goals the relaunch of the ethnic-cultural expressions as a way to gain the support of the rural population. In Leguía's second government, the Afro-Peruvian communities added art to their histories through writing, oral history, and poetry.

During this period such poets and artists as Nicomedes Santa Cruz, found the right time to emerge. He used *décimas*<sup>19</sup>, in

which are immersed Afro-Peruvian usage of language and poetic structure. They also contain traceable African customs and words that allow an

appreciation of the syncretism and singularity of this manifestation. These poems reflect the context of social inequality and desire for change, such as these excerpts from the poem *Oiga Usté Señor Dotor*, from Nicomedes Santa Cruz: *Lo trataré de atender, brindándole lo mejor, y ya que me hace el favor de alternar con mi raza, antes de pisar mi casa oiga usté, señor dotor: ¡Si viene en plan de turismo cante, baile, jaranee, pero*

<sup>19</sup> Décima in poetry is a poem of ten verses.

*nunca me negree, que tengo Fe de Bautismo!*<sup>20</sup> (Santa Cruz, 1964: 15). Also these *decimas* show moral values and knowledge of the subjugated position of slaves in the society.

In the countryside, oral history and music are sources of information. A well known narrator of hacienda's histories is Don Amador Ballumbrosio. He is a farmer, tap dancer and violinist, and was assigned to be the history teller of his people. In his oral tradition he talks about migration within the valley, the hacienda, and the Indians. In one of his hacienda histories he stated: *Desde muy niño me tocó vivir algo que jamás dejaría a mis hijos vivir. Esa es la parte de tener un gamonal*<sup>21</sup> *de campo, una especie de perro y lobo que odiaba a los niños*<sup>22</sup> (Ballumbrosio, 2000: 173). The cruelty and the bad treatment by the overseers during the hacienda period, is still present in the Afro-Peruvians collective memory. Other direct testimony from Juan Vilchez, 73, from San José recounts:

*Vine muchachito en el año 36, vine con mis padres, pero mis padres murieron en el 48[...] Yanaconaje*<sup>23</sup> *había aquí, la hacienda nos daba tierra así como parcelero*<sup>24</sup>. *Aquí trabajábamos y nos daban habilitación. Eso duró hasta el 59, del 50 pa'ca ya no había parcelación.*<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> I will try to treat you well, giving you the best, and because you do me the favor of interacting with my race, before you step into my house, hear me doctor: if you come here for tourism, sing, dance and have a party but do not call me black, because I have been baptized.

<sup>21</sup> Overseer.

<sup>22</sup> Since I was a child, I had to live something that I would never allow my sons to experience. The situation of having a general overseer, a kind of dog and wolf that hated children.

<sup>23</sup> Quechua word for peonage. Also come from the Quechua *yana* that means black.

<sup>24</sup> During the hacienda, that was the name given to the person who worked a land plot or *parcela*.

<sup>25</sup> I came as a little boy in 1936, but my parents died in 1948. Here was *Yanaconaje*, the hacienda gave us land as *parceleros*. Here we worked and they gave us work that lasted until the 1959. From the fifties on there were not *parceleros* anymore.

Among the changes formulated during the second presidency of Augusto B. Leguía (1919-1936) innovations with respect to ethnic groups are of particular interest. Leguía organized an assembly to reform the 1860 constitution and called for the election of a new congress. Working closely with the new congress, Leguía formulated the 1920 constitution. The most relevant part of this constitution is the Declaration of Protection, in which the state recognized the existence of native and peasant communities. The 58<sup>th</sup><sup>26</sup> article of the Peruvian constitution stipulates:

"El estado protege al estado indígena y dictara leyes especiales para el desarrollo, de su cultura en armonía con sus necesidades. La nación reconoce la existencia legal de las comunidades indígenas y la ley declara los derechos que les corresponden. A su vez el artículo cuarenta y uno de esta misma constitución consigna que los bienes de las comunidades indígenas son imprescriptibles".

Under this political framework, Afro-Peruvian and other cultural movements gained support to express themselves, protected by the law. The historian Manuel Burga stated in a lecture at The University of Kansas in 2007:

"During the eleven years of the *Leguia's* government, there were several changes. Peru is recognized as a multiracial nation and in 1936 it declared that black people are Peruvians too. And the black music was recovered and cultivated" (Manuel Burga, 2007).

After Leguía the next president, Jose Luis Bustamante y Rivero was also another folklore supporter. A folklore campaign was implemented in 1945 to revalorize national culture by seeking to preserve and promote Peruvian artistic traditions. Oral histories and folklore were collected and several institutes were created that employed qualified culture bearers (Jose Durand, 2006:27).

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<sup>26</sup> The State protects the Indigenous State and will promulgate the laws for the development of its culture in harmony with their needs. The nation recognizes the legal existence of the indigenous communities and the law declares their rights. At the same time, the forty first article of the same constitution declares the communities' properties are perennial.

In order to access more information about the rural cultural manifestations, several researchers traveled to the countryside, and it is at that moment that the rural and urban cultural expressions and styles were combined.

## **II E. Agrarian Reform and Land Tenure**

Juan Velasco Alvarado assumed the presidency of the Peruvian government in 1968. He promulgated an agrarian reform in 1969, in which the workers, including El Guayabo peons, received land that they worked under a new regime of cooperatives. Velasco used agrarian reform to break apart the elite and politically powerful *hacendados* and facilitate a more governmentally cooperative society. In essence, the haciendas were converted to cooperatives. Cooperatives are self-managed associations for the purposes of production. The members of a cooperative were required to work in the enterprise, and manage it according to democratic principles (McGregor, 1977: 478). The Sinchi Roca cooperative, to which El Guayabo belongs, was constituted as a production cooperative. The cooperatives required government investment, however, which proved to be both costly and inadequate in the long run.

“Substantial internal financing is a feature of agricultural firms even in the most highly industrialized economy. An agricultural production cooperative without sizable government assistance is unlikely to be an exception. Unfortunately, when assistance has been forthcoming, it has been in the form of land grants, accentuating the problem of rent extraction. The Peruvian sugar cooperatives provide an excellent example of this occurrence” (Horton, 1973: 57-66).

This type of institution was especially significant for poor populations. The subsidies promoted by the state allowed the cooperatives to compete in the market with international prices. In 1980, the Fernando Belaunde government supported Velasco’s

initiative through the *parcelacion* law which became more popular during Alan Garcia's government; it lost strength under Alberto Fujimori's government where the law lost its strength. The neo-liberal government of Fujimori, did not recognize cooperatives as a profitable system, and as a consequence his administration decreased the subsidies for the cooperative's products. During the Velasco government, the subsidies given to cooperatives' products were extremely high. Because of that, the cooperatives were able to compete with the international market. The government subsidies on cotton were reduced gradually over time, and now do not exceed 17%, which makes the cotton prices more vulnerable to the external market. In this way, the cooperatives lost their strength, since they can no longer compete against cotton from Egypt or Sudan. This jeopardized the lands of El Guayabo. The solution was to change the land regime to that of private property; which is the transition that El Guayabo is going through now.

### **III. The Hacienda on the South Coast: The Origins of El Guayabo.**

Afro-Peruvians have been living in the Chincha valley since shortly after the first blacks arrived with Pizarro and Almagro in 1532. Since then black settlements increased as a consequence of the relocation and transportation of slaves through the Chincha valley, two hundred kilometers south of Lima. Chincha has eleven districts: Alto Larán, Chavín, Chincha Alta, Chincha Baja, El Carmen, Grocio Prado, Pueblo Nuevo, San Juan de Yanac, San Pedro de Huacarpana, Sunampe, and Tambo de Mora. El Guayabo del Carmen, the village of this study, belongs to the El Carmen district. This chapter addresses the importance of the El Guayabo collective and its uniqueness inside the Afro-Peruvian community. Here I present the community's dynamics and the overall changes they experienced in order to become the community they are today. I went to El Guayabo to interview these Afro-Peruvian inhabitants, and discover the source of their positive identity.

To reach El Guayabo, one has to travel South on the Panamericana highway until reaching Chincha. It is best to leave Lima by taxi to reach the highway where you can catch a bus at a *paradero*<sup>27</sup>. In the *paradero*, people stood line in to buy tickets that cost between nine and fifteen soles, depending on the demand and if it is weekend or a holiday. The buses to the south came every fifteen minutes, and they took a route Cañete-Chincha-Ica. After twenty minutes, you leave the city to pass to the Panamericana highway that is just by the sea. The next three hours are spent going mostly through a desert landscape with the sea to the right. The bus arrives in Chincha, a crowded city. The

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<sup>27</sup> Stop

majority of houses have no more than two floors, and the ones of only one floor are made of adobe. On both sides of the highway are small wineries and kiosks selling food. The damage the earthquake caused on August fifteen 2007 is still visible. Some houses



**Fig. 5.** Location of the province Chincha  
(Commons, 19 Aug.)

collapsed. Bulldozers are picking up and removing rubble from the land and there are piles of bricks along the streets. The reconstruction of the zone goes slowly, since the damage was tremendous. After a roundabout, there is Chincha's market. Outside of the main building of the market are the kiosks of fruit, wine, and sweets. On the market's right side is the public transportation *paradero* for the several towns of Chincha. The street is full of little cars and *combis*<sup>28</sup> with colorful name tags for the towns. One

has to take the *combis* to El Carmen. It is interesting how personal relations change only because of using this means of transportation. Everybody greeted each other, complained about the weather or about the prices of the products in the market. The *combi* charged two soles to reach the El Guayabo entrance.

Going out of Chincha, ten kilometers southeast the *combi* passed through cotton and corn plantations. On both sides of the road, there were either farmers working their parcels or transporting corn plants in a cart pulled by a donkey. Four kilometers before reaching El Carmen, on the left side of the highway, there is the main road to the village.

<sup>28</sup> At the beginning of the 1980's, the VW vans became a means of transportation. Now, all the people in the country use the same term to designate the vans in the public transportation.





**Fig. 6.** Map of the Province of Chincha. (Carazas, 2001:17)

El Guayabo del Carmen, was settled as a “shantytown” for the slaves near the Hacienda San José, where the slaves constituted the sole labor force. First, the slaves were Indigenous, but in the late sixteenth century the Indigenous population declined not only due to the hard labor, but also because of the diseases brought by the Spaniards. It was in this century that gradually

slaves Africans were brought to replace the native labor force. Several shantytowns

surrounded the hacienda, in such places as San Regis and Alto Larán. Most inhabitants were, and are nowadays, of African descent. After slavery some of these shantytowns became villages. Some of these villages persist until today; some disappeared as a cause of the migration. Migratory forces have been varied, including cimarronaje<sup>29</sup> in the colonial period and the hacienda, manumission, and freeing of slaves. Nowadays, individuals migrate because of lack of lands or because young people look for a better education and way of living.

<sup>29</sup> This name was given to the action of slave fleeing and consequent crime commitment.

### **III A. El Guayabo's History**

By the time the Jesuits were expelled from the New World, the Hacienda San José had more than 1,000 slaves, but historical events such as the independence wars of the 1820s, the abolition of slavery in 1854, and the Pacific War with Chile (1878–82) would compromise the Hacienda San José's structure and management. When the liberation troops of Don José de San Martín arrived in Pisco in 1821, most of the hacienda's slaves defected to San Martín's army, and rebelled and murdered the family's last heir on the front steps of the hacienda's main house. In 1879, during the war against Chile, there were few haciendas that kept slaves such as San José, Hoja Redonda and Alto Larán. Three hundred rebels assaulted these haciendas, tired of the bad treatment imposed on them by the Hacienda authorities (Carazas, 2002: 9).

When President Juan Velasco Alvarado dismantled Peru's vast network of haciendas from 1968 through 1972, some haciendas were looted and burned, but this was not the destiny of San José. The main building was sold, and the surrounding agricultural land was passed to the cooperative San Regis, which included El Guayabo. The Hacienda house had been acquired in 1913 by the Cillóniz family. This family continues operating the Hacienda San José main house until today as one of the main touristic-historical attractions in the area. The hacienda's main house operates as a hotel and restaurant that keeps a colonial character in its decoration. In the cuisine, they present Afro-Peruvian food as well as dances that are performed by settlers of the surrounding towns. These elements added to the historical tours that the owners offer have kept alive the Hacienda as a symbol of oppression.

A painting by a slave on the wall in the main patio in 1837 appears to depict the Hacienda as if it were yesterday. The hacienda's main square, and on it the slaves sing and dance the *festejo*<sup>30</sup> in a circle, a troop of soldiers march and a crowd bets on a cockfight. In the same patio, one can see on another wall the paintings of the plantation's founders. The several patios inside the hacienda are decorated with old plows, branding irons, mule yokes, and other relics of the past, including a manual cotton gin. Beneath the hacienda are intricate mazes of catacombs, which connect to the chapel, and to other



**Fig.7.** Baroque altar in the  
Capilla San José

towns nearby. Because of tunnels found near the coast, one can infer that all the area's haciendas may have been connected via an underground network used to smuggle slaves and avoid the head tax.

Adjacent to the hacienda is the Capilla<sup>31</sup> San José, built in 1700. Inside is a Baroque altar made of Nicaraguan cedar. The slaves were baptized here, but only those who worked inside the house were allowed to sit on the seats against the wall and hear Mass. Attached to the chapel is a room that constitutes a reminder of plantation brutality. Here, runaway slaves were tortured after being recognized by the brands on their shoulders called *carimba*<sup>32</sup>. The slaves were locked in this room, in total darkness, for up to two weeks. They were shackled to a device in excruciating positions after receiving twenty lashes in the main square.

<sup>30</sup> One of the Afro-Peruvian dances, which can be recognized by the cloth and musical instruments.

<sup>31</sup> Chapel

<sup>32</sup> Slave brands widely used by slave traders. Brands were done with a hot iron (Bowser, 1974: 83)

*...Y aquí vivieron mis abuelos, le ponían los grillos y su argolla aquí (en la nariz) como si fueran bueyes. Así me contaron mis abuelos. Por ejemplo... ¡le marcaban! Como la res. Era tiempo de los patrones, del blanco, extranjeros, no se (...) Y se corrían los pobres yanás<sup>33</sup>. Se iban también para el Guayabo, que tú ves está para allá<sup>34</sup>.*

*Amador Vallumbrosio* (Carazas, 2002: 11)

Historians relate that El Guayabo settlers passed from slaves, to wage-earning farmers (Keith, 1976: 77), and then from peons to land owners (Luciano, 2002: 4) when the Agrarian reform ended the hacienda system, allowing other forms of land tenure and exploitation to develop.

### **III B. Personal Observation**

The first time I visited El Guayabo was in 1995, with a group from San Marcos University. Three students and I went with my physical anthropology professor to help with his research. When the course ended, we were already friends with Elizabeth Cartagena Valle known as Ali, an El Guayabo inhabitant I contacted through the music teacher Juan Vasquez. I went with my friends to visit and enjoy Ali's hospitality. Ali and her *familia* were very kind to us and we regularly spent time with them. I kept going there until 1996, when I changed my specialty and I had to work in another part of the coast. Twelve years later, in 2008, my impressions were quite different. I could barely recognize the village because it had grown. I looked for the well where we used to refresh ourselves in the summer time and where all the villagers got water for cooking and

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<sup>33</sup> Quechua word to designate the black color. (Carazas, 2002: 11)

<sup>34</sup> And here lived my grandparents, they [masters] put them in shackles and put their ring here [speaker brings his fingers to his nose] like they were oxen. My grandparents told me that. For example...they marked them! Like cattle. That was the time of the masters, of the white, foreigners, I do not know (...) And they ran away, the poor *yanas*. They went to el Guayabo too, [speaker points in the direction of El Guayabo] that you see is over there.

washing their clothes. The well disappeared in 2000, because a French photographer helped to find funds to build a lifted well. There were also less Huarango trees, which are part of the native vegetation, a source of wood, and even inspiration. In their musical repertory are several songs mentioning it, such as the Guayabo song. ....*Los frejoles que'n la olla hirviendo están, con la leña del huarango, que corto el negro Batan*<sup>35</sup> .....

I arrived in June, at the beginning of winter. The winter in this region is not really cold, the temperature oscillated between thirteen and twenty five degrees Celsius. I arrived at Ali's house, but her daughter, Sandra Farfán Cartagena, is living there now. I found out that Ali moved to Lima for cancer treatment, and I was very touched by the news. After talking for awhile of our memories of 1995, I talked to Sandra about my project, and she offered me her house and support. Sandra introduced me to my first four interviewees. Then I asked the interviewees to lead me in the direction of my next interviewee. With this method I found myself returning to the same houses but to interview a different family member. For developing this project, my tools were a video camera and a semi-structured ethnographic interview. I chose this method because of the distrust many have of anthropologists or members of NGO's. Some past researchers who did their research there said they would bring the results back to the community but they did not. Also NGO's promised to give things or help the community but gave the villagers less of what they promised. Rolando Palma stated about people who came to do their research, "*vienen a estudiarnos como monitos, y después no sabemos nada de los resultados*"<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> ...The beans are boiling in the pot, with the fire wood of huarango, that the black [man] Batan cut...  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HHPFk2fqC5Q>

<sup>36</sup> "they come to study us like little monkeys, then we do not know anything about the results".



**Fig. 8.** Mamainé and her specialty, Carapulca de

In 1995, there were fewer houses, less mestizos (approximately ten per cent) and the well was exposed. However, the town still has no streets and the distribution of the houses is random. According to Rolando Palma, a resident from El Guayabo and a municipality worker from El Carmen, this random-pattern was probably an active form of resistance against the customary settlement imposed by the Spanish. El Guayabo village is located in the

center and surrounded by the *chacras*. On July 26, they inaugurated the paved main road that connects El Guayabo with the highway to El Carmen. Now it is the only paved road in town.

Then one takes the road to El Guayabo, walking for a kilometer through corn and cotton plantations. You can see the primary school on the left, and then a curve to the left led us to the “center” of the town. The part of town one can reach easily is what I call the center. After this point the houses are scattered on the dusty and rugged terrain of the town. Thus, there are not real streets; there is only a main paved road. Consequently, to go to somebody’s house, you have to ask only for the person’s first name. I invited my uncle to come with me once and he could not believe it, so I let him try. My uncle started to ask for Sandra’s house, and the people helped him to find it. He was really amazed.

In the center of the town is the restaurant, *El Refugio*<sup>37</sup> de Mamainé which belongs to the community’s councilwoman, Marina Esther Cartagena de Cotito, also known as Mamainé. It is the most important commercial establishment in town. Another

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<sup>37</sup> Refuge

important establishment is Nando's *cantina*<sup>38</sup>, where people from El Guayabo can drink beer and eat roasted chicken during the weekend. Some other neighbors set up little kiosks inside their houses, using their windows to sell their products. In these little stores, one can buy anything from bread to Pisco<sup>39</sup>. In front of Mamainè's place there is a *comedor comunal*<sup>40</sup>. A group of women manages this establishment where the families can buy their meals for much less money. Sandra Farfán, the woman I lived with, was ashamed at the beginning because she buys the meals there sometimes, though women take pride in their cooking.

The cantina is also used as a communal place for meetings. Once I even used it to teach an English class for the kids. After this informal class, village mothers suggested that I talk to the school principal to extend the classes to all the school. I talked to the principal Miguel Angel Apolaya and he was excited about it, because the children were never taught another language. I taught English classes in El Guayabo Primary School every Wednesday morning for a month, and the response of the children was good. After the first class, the children started to greet me in English in the streets and telling everybody I was the English teacher. Teaching at the school was both an exciting and a sad experience. The Guayabo Primary School only has three operative classrooms, one classroom for each two grades of instruction. There was only one teacher per classroom including the director. The Education Ministry has stipulated a number of students for each teacher they hire. The number of students in each grade of El Guayabo Primary School was not enough to justify hiring another teacher per grade of instruction.

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<sup>38</sup> Bar.

<sup>39</sup> Grape liquor obtained from an incomplete distillation of grapes juice.

<sup>40</sup> This communal organization asks for a reasonable amount of money per week per person, to buy the main meal. Women in this establishment cook in the morning for several families in the village.



**Fig. 9.** Typical house in El Guayabo,  
Sandra Cartagena's house

Another interesting aspect of the village is the architecture. The houses in El Guayabo have a special structure. All houses have one floor and most are made from adobe<sup>41</sup> bricks (Rubenstein, 1989: 208).

The villagers hire people to make the bricks on site. The artisan comes and prepares the mix of clay, water, and a type of grass; he molds the bricks on the ground using frames and leaves them there to dry in the sun. The roof is built with bamboo logs and mats covered with clay. The entire roof is flat. In the front of the house there is a roofed patio that the villagers call *pasadizo*<sup>42</sup>.

The houses have between two and three bedrooms, a living room, and a bathroom. The villagers use the *pasadizo* to rest in the summer time, dance, or gather with friends. Behind the *pasadizo*, is the main door, because the houses use to have another door near the kitchen. Both doors of the house are open all the time, unless the residents go out. El Guayabo villagers are very proud of the trust in their town. They always tell you nothing is going to happen to you inside the village. Instead, what is going to happen is that you are not going to have a private life; there are no secrets in El Guayabo. Everybody knows

<sup>41</sup> A sun-dried, unburned brick of clay and straw. The clay or soil from which this brick is made.

<sup>42</sup> Porch



what is happening inside the village at all times. El Guayabo people are warm-hearted, they like to flirt, to share and to enjoy themselves. I felt safe and comfortable all the time I spent with them, and I can say it is almost impossible not to love the people and the village. Also I think I influenced some of them, since Sandra started to want to learn more and live a better life.

In 1995 approximately 90 families lived in El Guayabo according to Ali, and now the number of families has grown considerably because of immigration from the highlands and consequent demographic growth. The actual number of inhabitants in El Guayabo is nearly 500 representing 136 families.

**Fig. 10.** Chart with El Guayabo data from the last census in El Carmen.

Age	Number of persons
0-2	32
3-13	87
14-25	115
26-55	205
56+	47
Masc.	226
Fem.	260
Houses	101
Fam*	136
Persons*	486
SD	10-12%

Source: Rolando Palma: Census Chief of the El Carmen District.  
Census Guayabo 2007

\*The number of families and persons vary with the cotton seasons. There is constant migration from the highlands to the coast.

About twenty per cent of the population is of Indigenous descent. This occurred because the Hacienda brought workers from the highlands when they needed extra labor.

These workers were mainly from the departments of Ayacucho and Huancavelica (Carazas, 2002: 12). These individuals came first as a temporary work force, but gradually they started to settle, giving an Indigenous component to the village. For example, the term *yana*<sup>43</sup> is a term some Afro Peruvians use to call themselves. They also use *taita*<sup>44</sup>, another Quechua word for father. Indigenous people brought with them not only their words, but also their culture. The following is a fragment extracted from Carazas' interview of Amador Vallumbrosio, an El Carmen settler from a neighboring town:

*El Yana sembraba garbanzos, pallares, zapallo, camote.../..y de arriba venían para acá a cambiar, bajaban con llamas ...y le recibíamos con alegría, y las llamas !fuit! Te lanzaban a la cara, a los mirones, su saliva. Hasta un mes se quedaban. Y te cambiaban. Traían papa, queso, oyuco<sup>45</sup>, su maíz, su cosa.<sup>46</sup>*

In El Guayabo, Mamainé stated that all Indigenous people that came were received with acceptance and good will. They came to work during the cotton campaigns and sometimes they stayed because they did not have another place to go, or because they married a resident, as Ali Cartagena said: “*De la gente que viene de la sierra no todos se*

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<sup>43</sup> Quechua word to designate the black color.

<sup>44</sup> This word means literally “father” but used in the context of respect and reverence in the Andes (Lyons, 2006: 121). There is another theory about the word that implies it is of African descent. This theory implies that the term extended for the Americas and now there are people using the word to designate certain blacks in Venezuela, Puerto Rico, Colombia, the Antilles and Cuba (Romero, 1988:250).

<sup>45</sup> *Ullucus tuberosus*, a type of Andean tuber.

<sup>46</sup> The Yana sow chickpeas, butter beans, squash, and sweet potatoes./and from the highlands they came here to exchange /coming down with llamas....and we received them with happiness and the llamas !fuit! they spit their saliva in your face. They remained for a month, and they exchanged with you. They used to bring potato, cheese, oyuco, their corn, their stuff.

van. *La gente se quedó y se casó. Se mezcló*<sup>47</sup>” (7/16/2008) As a consequence of this mix, the Guayabo people recognize several racial groups: *negro*<sup>48</sup>, *zambo*<sup>49</sup>, *cholo*<sup>50</sup>, *blanco*<sup>51</sup>, and *serrano*<sup>52</sup>. El Guayabo people are aware of these ethnic distinctions because of remnant legacy of colonial society. These distinctions gave more importance to the “purity” of white ancestry, as a base for an ethnic hierarchy or aristocracy (Diggs, 1953: 405), but now for the people of El Guayabo it’s just a tool to distinguish people from different regions or different racial mixes.

Accidentally I discovered in which category they put me. Silvia Cartagena, her brother Melchor, Sandra and I, were drinking beer in Silvia’s garden. Then talking about the color of tobacco, I said “It is brown like me”. Silvia said “you are not brown, brown is *zamba*, you are *chola*. Silvia was not the only one saying it. Once I was taking pictures in a *chacra*<sup>53</sup> and Melchor’s father said “*bonita la cholita*<sup>54</sup>” referring to me. El Guayabo villagers do not use these categories as pejoratives. They only use it to distinguish others. They are very sure of who they are. Once Italo Palma asked me, *Carola, ¿sabes por que soy negro? Carola: Por que tus ancestros vinieron de Africa. Italo: Si. Yo soy Negro. Y me gusta ser negro, aunque sé que hay racismo.*<sup>55</sup> Yes, they also recognize racism. One

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<sup>47</sup> Of the people that came from the highlands, not everybody left. Some people stayed and they married and formed mixed-race families.

<sup>48</sup> Black.

<sup>49</sup> The resulting race from the marriage of a black and a person from the highlands.

<sup>50</sup> Word to designate a creole from the coast, or any mixed individual not categorized.

<sup>51</sup> White.

<sup>52</sup> Word to designate a person from the highlands.

<sup>53</sup> A small plot of land for farming.

<sup>54</sup> Is beautiful the *cholita*. Cholo/a, is referred to a mestizo, mainly from the coast.

<sup>55</sup> Carola, do you know why I am black? Carola: Because your ancestors came from Africa. Italo: Yes. I am black. And I like to be black. Even though I know there is racism.

day, talking about Easter, Sandra was wondering: *en las películas de la semana santa, ¿'onde están los negros? A ver. Allí habían negros también. ¡Eso es racismo!*<sup>56</sup>.

Inside the village there is no racial prejudice, to the contrary, one of the things I enjoy a lot is how they joke about their blackness. For example, Sandra prefers, to call her group of friends *gallinazos*,<sup>57</sup> and adults sometimes call the children *monito*<sup>58</sup> or *monita*. These terms are used only by *familia* members, but in a caring-funny way. That is a reason why sometimes Indigenous people decided to stay. Even though they both have different ways, El Guayabo people supported them from the start. They gave them food and friendship. Even more, they gave them a family as Rosa Pineda said: *..Y a través de ese tiempo salíamos a hacer jornal y en cualquier trabajo y así aquí los paisanos acá de los morenos, nos apoyan en los trabajos, acá siempre hay apoyo ¿No? Somos como decir una familia, aunque al principio no era así. Yo estoy bien agradecida de Guayabo. Yo soy de Huancayo, somos Huancainos, no había trabajo. Aquí encontré trabajo y un pequeño espacio*<sup>59</sup> (06/20/2008). As Carlos Campos states in his work, the term *familia*<sup>60</sup> has a deeper connotation than in the dictionary. For the black [Peruvian] community the concept of family goes beyond biology (191) and I had the opportunity to confirm that myself. After the two months I spent with them, they started to tell me I already was *familia*.

The social structure in El Guayabo is based on equality. There are two authorities in town, the governor, Victor Cotito, and the councilwoman, Marina Esther Cartagena de

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<sup>56</sup> In the movies about Easter, where are the blacks? Ah? There were black too. That is racism!

<sup>57</sup> Black vultures.

<sup>58</sup> Little monkey

<sup>59</sup> And during this time, [when they arrived] we went out to work for a day in any kind of work, in this way the paisanos here, the morenos, they supported us with work, there is always support. No? We are like a family, although at the beginning it was not like this. I am fine and grateful for Guayabo. I am from Huancayo, we are from Huacayo. There was no work. Here I found work and a little space.

<sup>60</sup> Family

Cotito, known as Mamainé. Their political positions do not make them different from the other villagers. The governor wakes up at six in the morning to work his *chacra*, and Mamainé goes to the market to buy ingredients to cook in her restaurant. They work just like everybody else. Also, they are related to each other because El Guayabo is a little community. For this reason, they think that if you are in El Guayabo it is because you belong to someone's family. So, after one month, one neighbor started to call me *prima*<sup>61</sup>, once Mamainé called me *sobrina*<sup>62</sup>, and Fernando Peña in our interview called me *hermana*<sup>63</sup>. For El Guayabo people, family is the most important value. They pay special attention to their kids, caring, pampering and watching over them at all times. The unity in the nuclear family is especially strong. The extended family is very united and the relationship between them is one of equality, and they enjoy being together very much. I think that is the reason they can create such strong connections with their neighbors and friends (*familia*).

The valley where El Guayabo is located has traditionally been devoted to cotton production for the market. The villagers from El Guayabo are dedicated to their land. They cultivate mainly cotton, secondly maize and in third place *camote*<sup>64</sup>. For El Guayabo's people the beginning of the agricultural season is August, when they start to prepare their *chacras* for the sowing season. In order to understand this process, I interviewed two farmers, Italo Palma and Melchor Cartagena. They first prepare the parcel by making furrows to let the water go in to moisten it. Some sow by hand with their families, some hire a special tractor that plant and covers the seeds. Then they

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<sup>61</sup> Cousin.

<sup>62</sup> Niece.

<sup>63</sup> Sister.

<sup>64</sup> *Pomoea batatas* or sweet potato.

separate the sprouts and disinfect the soil. Afterwards, the men of the village work in the *chacras* in the mornings for the maintenance of the crops, but since the cotton season requires hard work, they work with their families or hire people. The harvest season starts in April, when the cotton flowers start blooming. El Guayabo farmers' alternate seasons between the three previously mentioned main crops to let the land rest. After the sowing season, they spend the first half of the day in their *chacras* and the second with their family and friends. During these moments of leisure, they hang out, sing, play the *cajón*<sup>65</sup>, dance, and drink *Pisco*<sup>66</sup> or beer.

When the sowing and harvesting seasons are over, the men of El Guayabo have to look for labor alternatives. I was close to a group of young people between 23 and 32 years old who became my friends and collaborated closely with me, and one important



job was the work in the cotton storage-rooms, which involved lifting huge bundles of cotton on their backs to put them in a truck. Each bundle weighs more or less two hundred kilograms, and

**Fig. 11.** El Guayabo villagers, finished filling the truck with cotton.

these men worked from six in the morning to six in the

afternoon lifting them. Bundles are placed in a truck that can contain more or less seven

<sup>65</sup> Afro-Peruvian percussion instrument that was created by the first Afro-Peruvians who by passed the prohibition of drums in 1722 (Santa Cruz, 2004: 59).

<sup>66</sup> Alcoholic beverage obtained from the incomplete distillation of grape juice

tons of cotton. The full truck then goes to the cotton gin, where they have to unload the truck again. Other men found jobs as builders in Lima. These jobs are short contracts for some months, and then they have to go back to El Guayabo. The money they receive for their cotton is not enough to sustain them and for that reason young men are always in a constant search for labor alternatives.

Nevertheless, people from El Guayabo enjoy life in the simplest way. As an example, for the villagers food is one of the most important pleasures, but it is also an important tradition. Guayabo villagers are very serious about cooking, and it is a source of shame for a woman to cook poorly. It is not common for a man to cook, but it is becoming more common. These exigent cooks refuse to replace ingredients or cook a meal without a required ingredient. They purchase all of the ingredients in the Chincha market, and they must go there every week or fifteen days. When something is lacking, they can buy it in the little kiosks in town. In the village some people have fruit trees and animals that they raise for eating, such as chickens, pigs and *cuyes*<sup>67</sup>. Among the fruit trees are pecans, bananas, mandarins, and *paltas*<sup>68</sup>. The villagers butcher an animal when they need meat or when there's a birthday or a marriage. They use huge pots to peel pork and to cook *frejol colado*<sup>69</sup>, a type of dessert made of beans, milk, and brown sugar.

Butchering an animal is a type of ritual; they need at least three people to kill a pig. After the animal is killed, the men gather around a table where they are skinning the pig and cutting it up while they are drinking Pisco and talking. When they finish, the owner of the animal pays the men with some parts of the animal. Another reason for

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<sup>67</sup> Guinea pigs

<sup>68</sup> Avocados

<sup>69</sup> Strained beans.

gathering is just to cook and share food. Once I was invited to a *parrillada*<sup>70</sup> at Sandra's house, and there was no a special reason for a celebration. Jeanette Goyeneche and Sandra organized it, asking for contributions to buy the ingredients. They invited their whole group made up of ten people. At the end of the party, Victor Coto started to argue with Sandra, then with his wife Japon, then with Jeanette. I was uncomfortable and I told Italo to come to calm them. He asked: Why are you arguing? Coto answered: Who was arguing? Italo: Carola says you were arguing. Victor said: No Carola, we are like that, we are *negros gritones*.<sup>71</sup> The people from El Guayabo like to express themselves loudly when they do not like something.

Religious syncretism can be observed at several levels, and in several aspects of the villagers' daily life. Spiritual concerns were and are now, important aspects in the Afro-Peruvian culture. Their spirituality is produced as a fusion of Catholicism, the Andean cosmovision, and the Afro-descendants' ways of proclaiming their faith. Afro-Peruvians created vibrant manifestations of religious syncretism. The slaves brought in by the Spanish had often already been indoctrinated into the Catholic Church. Since these times, Afro-Peruvians connected Catholicism with their ancestral ways of worshiping God, including dancing and singing. The people of El Guayabo recognize two important religious festivities: The Festival of the *Virgen Del Carmen* on July 16<sup>th</sup> and the *yunsa* celebrated the second week of February. The *yunsa* is an adaptation of an Andean celebration which lends to the festivity an Afro-character. In the Andes, also in February, a group of villagers and a band march to cut a special tree that can be a eucalyptus or a cypress. After cutting it, they dance toward the central plaza of the town, where the tree is

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<sup>70</sup> Grilled food.

<sup>71</sup> Loud black people



adorned by the godmother with the best of the harvest, pots, bottles of wine, cloth, toys, and balloons. They dance *huaylas* (a type of *huayno*<sup>72</sup>) around the tree. The couples gradually cut it while dancing throughout the afternoon, and after the tree falls, the guests run to pick up the gifts attached to the tree (Rodrigues, 1997:100). It seems Indigenous people brought this custom to this village when they came from the highlands to exchange their products and subsequently to work in the cotton fields. Now the difference is that, instead of *huayno*, the couples perform Afro-Peruvian dances while cutting down the tree.

Mamainé held the *yunsa* in El Guayabo, because she owns the only restaurant there. The entire village prepares for this day, and they invite people from the neighboring towns. Villagers start preparing food and the rehearsals for dances a week in advance, as well as the contracts for the beer and Pisco<sup>73</sup>. The people of El Guayabo always look forward to February with high expectations in part because it is the tourist season in Chincha but also because of the *yunsa*.

Unlike the *yunsa*, the Festival of the *Virgen Del Carmen* occurs during the winter and according to the Catholic calendar. Inhabitants of the El Carmen district venerate the virgin for two consecutive days, the day before and the day of the festival. On the eve of the 16th of July, the streets of El Carmen fill with people. Music, dancers, recitals, and parties are held in the houses. The villagers make an altar in front of the church with the Virgin on one side and a band on the other. The band starts to perform Afro-Peruvian music, and groups of women start dancing in front of the altar. On the morning of July 16<sup>th</sup>, the main square fills with crowds of people coming from neighboring towns to

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<sup>72</sup> Andean rhythm, which is mostly, danced jumping and tapping.

<sup>73</sup> Alcoholic beverage obtained from the incomplete distillation of the grape juice.

attend the mass, honoring the Virgin. Streets are also filled with bands, choirs, and processions. There are three masses during the day, with the primary mass at night, so the celebration extends all day long. Kiosks and tents are set up around the square, where dancers and musicians gather to drink and eat. Fireworks start before midnight as a culmination of the festivities.

People from El Guayabo also participate in other important festivities of the surrounding towns, such as the Danza de Negritos in El Carmen, celebrated December 6<sup>th</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup>. During this festivity, children dance to thank God for the prosperity given through the year. This tap dance is the result of the syncretism of Indigenous and Afro religious customs. It is done together with the rhythm of bells and violins. (Pro Santana, 2006: 11). In this celebration children tap for Jesus' birth with the rhythm of the violin and bells.

These festivities are supported by the community but also by the Municipality of El Carmen. The district mayor said El Guayabo is going to change with the road. During an interview with José Soria, he discussed the reconstruction priority and his efforts to handle all of the El Carmen district needs with the limited budget he has. He is contemplating various plans, such as the construction of a waste pipe because currently the villagers still use silos. The villagers also still need a first aid post, but the local government stated that the number of people in the village does not justify establishing one. Now with the new main road, change is inevitable in El Guayabo because, just as José Soria said: this village is now easy to reach. Before, the dusty road kept it hidden so that only friends and family and outsiders with good references could reach it.

With its limitations and scarcities, El Guayabo is a beloved place. Mario Cartagena, tío Marito for the children and young, said: *La vida en El Guayabo es algo! ....medio clásico, medio loco, no se. Queda la reseña de lo que es la gente de la chacra, la gente que metía la lampa*<sup>74</sup> (6/18/2008). From all my interviewees, only one stated he was not happy in the community. From children to old people, all say they like their town because it is peaceful and united. People are proud to be happy and kind, as the governor told me: *Por que El Guayabo es un sitio acogedor. Todo turista que viene, triste se va de Guayabo, querrían quedarse acá, porque es una tierra muy dulce. Acá no hay distinción de raza, acá se mezcla todo*<sup>75</sup> (Victor Cotito, 6/26/2008). They value sincerity, happiness, strength, and the *familia*.

After all the historic changes, El Guayabo became a thriving village, and it is easy to realize that its collective memory is very vivid. This collective memory was a pivotal element in the construction of a positive identity for the villagers of El Guayabo. They are aware their ancestors came as slaves from Africa, and talk about slavery, about the patrons during the Hacienda, about the hard work, torture, suffering, humiliation and indifference. In contrast, they also talk about pride, strength, rhythm, music and dance. They share an individual and collective pride for being strong, good, and musical people. Moreover they say they were born dancing with a rhythm nobody else owns. They are also proud of their ancient and innovative gastronomy that had a very humble origin, but is rich in flavors. El Guayabo people look forward to a more inclusive reality, and nowadays their biggest challenge is to balance their pride against the indifference of the

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<sup>74</sup> The life in Guayabo is something....A bit classic, a bit crazy, I do not know. There is a constant reminder of who the people from the chakra were, the people that worked hard with the shovel

<sup>75</sup> Because El Guayabo is a warm and welcoming place and land. All visiting tourists, go away sad from Guayabo, they would like to stay here. Here there are no race distinctions. Here one mixes everything.

Afro-Peruvian Identity and its connection with the land:  
The Guayabo-Chincha case

society they claim to belong. The duality seems to be their philosophy of life. It is the same philosophy they use to mix life with death, religion with dance, happiness with sadness.

#### **IV Cultural Manifestations: Blacks as Part of the Peruvian Society**

In Colonial Peru, Indigenous, Europeans and Blacks made up the society, and ultimately the three groups were influenced by each other. The Afro-Peruvian cultural manifestations include various Spanish and Indigenous influences. These manifestations were also influenced by the environment, since they depended on the resources in their land to sow, to build their houses and produce musical instruments. My research will examine historical events to understand the evolution of these cultural manifestations. Afro-Peruvian culture has influenced all aspects of Peruvian culture, including language, music, religion and cuisine (Pro Santana, 2006:10).

In this chapter, I will analyze how the arriving black population interacted and permeated the already existing Indigenous-Spanish society, becoming an important and integral component of Peruvian culture. I will show how Afro-Peruvians took advantage of ubiquitous materials and foods in their environment to create a new culture that drew from African, Spanish and Indigenous. In addition I will emphasize the contribution of El Guayabo community to the Afro-Peruvian culture.

Newly arrived Africans created cultural expressions within music, art, gastronomy, literature, and dance both in the city and in the countryside as a response to their new environment and reality. Every aspect of their life reflected these cultural manifestations. For example, in 1934 a male slave painted the main patio of the Hacienda San José.

**Fig. 12** Painting of the main Plaza in the Hacienda San José



**b.** Detail of the *festejo* dance.



**c.** Detail of the Spanish flag.



**d.** Detail of the cock fights.

The painting has value on multiple levels: the way the slave captured the image of the hacienda, through his slaves position, and the cultural manifestations portrayed in the painting. For the painter, this constituted his representation of the center of his universe, and the good and the bad things that happened here, in the Hacienda's main plaza. In the painting the Spanish flag is on the façade of the main house and the chapel is near. The painter portrayed the Hacienda's plaza as an open space, very wide. It seems that the most important activities happened just there, in this plaza. In the painting, the slaves and the Spaniards shared the physical space. In the left corner of the painting is a cock fight, a well known tradition in Peru. The men are in a circle betting and two cocks are fighting in the middle. In the right corner the artist portrayed the *festejo* or *lando* dance, which is part of an Afro-Peruvian celebration as individuals make a circle while a woman dressed in red dances in the center waving multiple handkerchiefs. Scattered in the painting are images of horses, dogs, children, Spanish soldiers, a carriage, all in vibrant colors. There are also women carrying baskets on their heads as they do in African cultures. Interestingly, proportions were not perfect, as a very large cock is juxtaposed with a minute person, perhaps representing hierarchy or value. This invaluable piece of art demonstrates rural cultural manifestations, in addition to symbols of control: the flag, the chapel, and the Spanish soldiers. Meanwhile, in the city Africans were exposed to other realities that made their expressions different from the countryside.

#### IV A. The Newly Arrived Africans in Lima

When slaves and free blacks arrived in the cities, they organized themselves in nations with kings and governments to celebrate their traditional festivals and preserve their religious celebrations and rituals. These rituals were preserved at a collective level, even while other customs, languages, art forms, and countless human lives were lost (Golash-Boza, 2007:4). The arriving Africans expressed themselves in the way they remembered, in a collective way. In “African Religions: Symbol, Ritual and Community” Benjamin Ray states: “for Africans religion cannot be a purely personal affair. The relation to the sacred is first of all a communal one”(17). In addition, Rafael Santa Cruz pointed out: “*Para esta gente, la música era parte de la vida diaria. Ellos no la separan por que no era algo especial, era normal. Para ir a trabajar, cantaban. Cuando estaban tristes cantaban y bailaban*”<sup>76</sup>. For African people, worshipping is intimately linked to song and dance, and when the African slaves arrived, they brought not only their language, but also several songs and dances they used to interpret in their famous night farm works (Pro Santana, 2006:11).

The Spaniards obliged the slaves to change their faith to Catholicism, and with this purpose they created an effective instrument of collective control. In Peru the church developed the *cofradías*<sup>77</sup> as a vehicle to Christianize the Africans. These Spanish religious institutions were created in the sixteenth century, as gremial and assistance associations devoted to a saint (Bowser, 1974: 248). During the religious performances,

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<sup>76</sup> “For these people, music was part of daily life. They did not differentiate it because it was nothing special, it was normal. In order to go to work, they sang. When they were sad they sang and danced.” Rafael Santa Cruz, 10/05/07.

<sup>77</sup> *Cofradías* or sodalities, were religious association in which the Afro-Peruvians were organized.



the *cofradia*'s dancers used several musical instruments. The drum called *parche*<sup>78</sup> was the most common and was a holed wood cylinder that was carried on the back of a person while another one went behind playing it. They also used a *marimba* that was played with two sticks, and the *sonajas*, made up of many bells. This kind of manifestation could have been the first African dance in the Peruvian territory.

Peru had the largest number of popular local saints compared to all the other Spanish Viceroyalties. Almost all the saints were established between 1570 and 1660, many of them coexisting in Lima society. That is the case of the five saints of Peru: *San Martin de Porres*, *Santa Rosa de Lima*, *Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo*, *San Francisco Solano* and *San Juan Masias*. The most remarkable fact is that one of them, *San Martin*, was a dark skinned man in the middle of the colonial period when segregation existed even inside the church (Garcia-Rivera, 1995:2-3). Even though *Martin* was a *mulato*, the fact that his father was a man from Burgos, gave Martin the right to have a chaplaincy, but he did not accept. He felt unworthy of this and he only wanted to heal the sick and clean the convent. *Martin* became a hero of the poor people because he always had something to give<sup>79</sup>. But his position in society was also granted because of his Spanish descent.

This is a significant difference from *El Señor de los Milagros*, another important Afro-Peruvian religious icon whose origin can be traced back to 1650, when a group of slaves from Angola made up the *cofradia de Pachacamilla*. In 1655, an earthquake hit Lima creating panic among its citizens and causing extensive damage. According to the legend, a wall with the mural of the image of the Lord painted by an Afro-Peruvian slave

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<sup>78</sup> Patch.

<sup>79</sup> Bula de la Beatificación de Fray Martin de Porres. Gregorius PP XVI "REI MEMORIAM, AD PERPETUAM. Lima: 1840

remained intact. The painter was from the *cofradía de Pachacamilla*. For this reason the image was also called *El Señor de Pachacamilla*<sup>80</sup> or *El Señor de los Temblores*<sup>81</sup>. Later and stronger earthquakes in 1687 and 1746 left large parts of Lima in ruins and prompted a growing number of *mestizos* and Spaniards to join the African slaves' deification of the image. Around 1640, they started to organize massive processions in the main square of Lima, and in 1670 the worship took on a public character, with music and night meetings. At the end of the Christian chants and prayers, the blacks started to dance and dedicate the dances to *Zanajarí* or *Nyamatsané* their chief gods. In 1672, it was a coincidence that together with the reinforcement of the wall where the *Señor de los Milagros* was painted in *Pachacamilla*, also began the edification of the Church of *Nuestara Señora de los Desamparados*<sup>82</sup>.

The Franciscan's presence in the diffusion of the worship was very clear, and the power behind the cross was a symbol of control. One of the better ways to keep the blacks dependent on moral and social rules was to make them believers in Christian supernatural manifestations. For that reason it was not a coincidence that the worship of the *Señor de los Milagros* acquired a major force after the 1746 earthquake, when the Afro-Peruvian population broke out in a violent sequence of thefts and revolts. The rise of the popularity of the *Señor de los Milagros* was part of the social and political strategies of the Church, the government and the elite to control the part of the population that in this time was threatening the city after the 1746 earthquake. Later, in 1771, the Viceroy *Amat* cooperated very actively with the rebuilding of the *Nazarenas* church, to address the Lima population's fear of earthquakes (Tardeu, 1997:127).

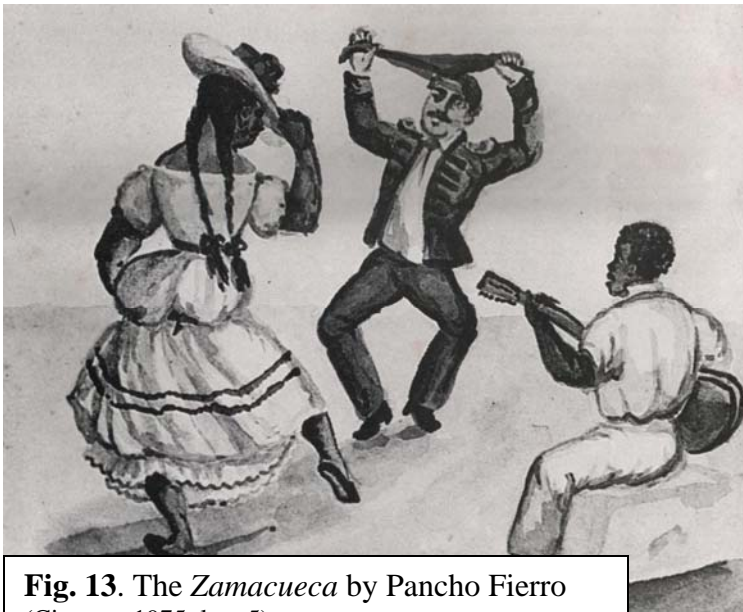
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<sup>80</sup> Lord of *Pachacamilla*. *Pachacamilla* is the name of a former neighborhood close to the center.

<sup>81</sup> Lord of the earthquakes.

<sup>82</sup> Our Lady of the helpless'.

In the nineteenth century, when the colonial system was in crisis, the expulsion of the Jesuits from the colony had led to a decline of the slave system. After several slave uprisings, slavery was abolished in 1854. In this period, it is easy to appreciate syncretism in Afro-Peruvian music, now with Spanish and Indian elements. The *mulato* watercolorist Pancho Fierro born circa 1800, was an important graphic narrator of this time, capturing in his pictures the normal life of Lima society, although not the suffering and oppression. In his paintings one sees the creation of new instruments and rhythms with guitars and *cajones*. In this historic moment of change, the Afro-Peruvian population, now integrated, started to express their desire to be full citizens using their cultural manifestations to insert themselves into the society to achieve equality. Fierro was self-taught and expressed his art free of all socio-political engagement or artistic movement.



**Fig. 13.** The *Zamacueca* by Pancho Fierro  
(Cisneros, 1975 :lam 5)

He is a very important source of information because he witnessed the ending of the Colony and the first years of the Republic. He painted with grace and a sense of humor the spirit of the city, capturing in his painting all the images he could see in

Lima at this time (Cisneros, 1975: 53). The *Zamacueca*, as Pancho Fierro shows in his aquarelle, was a dance where a *chola* holds her skirt, a *mestizo* waves his handkerchief in

the air, while an Afro-Peruvian plays the guitar. The variety in this water color is another interesting sample of how Afro-Peruvians portrayed their reality.

Fierro's paintings are a very important resource for the reconstruction of several costumes and dances, but more importantly, the daily life in Lima of all characters, including the militia, the clergy, the aristocrats and the common people. He was not an anti-establishment or revolutionary figure of this time, as being a *mulato* or be an Afro-Peruvian were two very different positions within society. In Fierro's paintings all the members of the society were passing from the Viceroyalty to the Republic period, and all of them were trying to find a position in this segregated and



**Fig. 14.** The Son de los Diablos  
(Cisneros, 1975 :lam 1)

changing society, even the painter. Among these characters were black vendors that attracted Fierro very much, not only because they found a position in society but also because they found a special way to attract the attention of the public through little songs called *pregones*<sup>83</sup> such as the following, that can be attached to the *Revolución caliente* aquarelle from Fierro.

*“Revolución caliente,  
música para los dientes,  
azúcar clavo y canela,  
para rechinar las muelas”*<sup>84</sup>



**Fig. 15.** *Revolución caliente*  
(Cisneros, 1975 :lam 40)

One of his most important paintings was his representation of the *Son de los Diablos*<sup>85</sup> which is a representation of the dances behind the procession of Corpus Cristi. Fierro painted the dance, instruments and costumes related to the procession and its symbolism. In this painting the guitar and the harp (European instruments) are visible together with the *cajita*<sup>86</sup> and *quijada de burro*<sup>87</sup> (African-Peruvian instruments). At the end of the eighteenth century, images of Afro-Peruvian performances were portrayed in negative but graphic descriptions of the

<sup>83</sup> Street cry. People in Lima of the eighteenth century, used to sing while selling their products.

<sup>84</sup> Hot revolution/ music for the teeth/ sugar, clove and cinnamon/ to make the teeth grind.

<sup>85</sup> The rhythm of the devils.

<sup>86</sup> Small wooden box, with a hinged top, suspended from the player, alternately opens and closes the top of the *cajita* and hits the side with a stick (Feldman, 2006).

<sup>87</sup> The *quijada* is the jaw bone of a donkey, horse or mule. It is scraped with another bone or a stick to produce a raspy buzz (Feldman, 2006). We can see them in Pancho Fierro's, *Son de los Diablos*.

*Concolocorvo*, Afro-Peruvian performances and instruments:

.....De ver solo los instrumentos de su música se inferirá lo desagradable de su música. La quijada de un asno bien descarnada con su dentadura floja, son las cuerdas que rascan con un asphueso de carnero.....En lugar del agradable tamborileo de los indios, usan los negros un tronco hueco y a los dos extremos ciñen un pellejo tosco. Este tambor lo carga un negro, tendido sobre su cabeza y otro va por detrás con dos palitos en la mano golpeando el cuero con sus puntas....sus danzas se reducen a menear la barriga y las caderas con mucha deshonestidad....( qtd in Prado,1941)<sup>88</sup>.

As a consequence of all these concerns, the Catholic Church prohibited public drum performances of blacks in 1817 within their *cofradías*. Therefore, the Afro-Peruvians found a way to trick Spanish authorities who had prohibited music-making. Afro-Peruvians found the materials and a way to produce “drums” with pieces of wood, dried pumpkins, or whatever in their environment that allowed them to perform percussion (Santa Cruz, 2004:27). This is how the *cajón* was created. It was the product of the Afro-Peruvians need for percussion. Rafael Santa Cruz researched the origins of this “instrument”, which is nothing more than a wooden box on which the player sits and hits in different places to get different pitches. It seems that the use of it was common after independence, but it is not in the chronicles because it was not considered an instrument itself.

“una especie de tambor, hecho regularmente de un cajón cuyas tablas se desenclavan para que el golpe sea más sonoro. Tócase este instrumento con las manos o con pedazos de caña y es difícil darse cuenta de la pericia y el oído con que el negro toca el cajón, sigue el compás de la música y anima a los bailarines, Como el cajón es el alma de la orquesta, la plebe ha dado a la zamacueca<sup>89</sup>, el nombre de polka de cajón<sup>90</sup>”. (Fuentes, 1867:153-156).

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<sup>88</sup> ....by only seeing their musical instruments, one can infer how disgusting was their music. A donkey’s jaw served as a scratchy sound maker when another bone was passed through its denture surface. Likewise, instead of having the form of the Indian drums, the blacks used a shallow trunk covered with a piece of leather, which was placed on top of the head while another black man behind, beats on it with two sticks. Also, the dancing itself is reduced to a provocative belly dancing and hip shaking.

<sup>89</sup> Zamacueca is the most representative music and dance of Afro-Peruvian music.

<sup>90</sup> “ A kind of drum, made regularly of a wood box, which parts are loosen to make the sound louder. This instrument is played with the hands or with pieces of cane and is difficult to realize the skill and sense of rhythm with which the black plays the cajon and follows the compass of the music and cheers the dancers. How the cajon is the soul of the orchestra, the plebe has given to the zamacueca the name of polka of cajon”

With the *cajón*, came the fusion of the known rhythms to the Europeans. These fusions always kept the strong percussion and now the calls and responses, characteristic of several types of music and dances like *Zamacueca*. According to Rafael Santa Cruz (10/5/2007), this is the most representative of all the Afro-Peruvian music and dance, and from this genre derived several of the kinds of Afro-Peruvian types of music and dances, for example, *Marinera de Lima*, *Marinera Norteña* and *Pandilla*. The guitar also became a very important part of Afro-Peruvian music. Now it is important for the majority of the Peruvian music bands, having a guitar and a *cajón*, since these elements are present in the Peruvian Polka, *Vals*, *Landó*, and *Marinera* musical genres.

Later on, in the Republic, during the eleven years of the Augusto B. Leguía government, there were several changes. Peru was recognized as a multiracial nation and in 1936 the government declared that black people are Peruvians too, and the black music was recovered and cultivated (Manuel Burga, 2007). With the Leguía initiative, folklorist, Jose Luis Bustamante y Rivero, together with San Marcos University, conducted a large campaign to collect oral literature and folklore. As a result of this initiative several institutes were created that employed qualified culture bearers. In this context Don Porfirio Vazques (1902-1971) was hired by the first folklore academy in Lima in 1940. Porfirio Vazques was a patriarch of one of the most important Afro-Peruvian musical families. Folklorist and poet, Vazques belonged to the rural area to the north of Lima, *Aucallama*, from where he brought a vast knowledge of black music and dance. In 1945 he met Nicomedes Santa Cruz to whom he taught more of the histories and poems related to the past century (Feldman, 2006:27-28). *Santa Cruz* adorned these and other histories using the Spanish gloss in the form of the *décima*, which is a

renaissance poetry style introduced by the Jesuits to the schools of Latin America as a tool of instruction and indoctrination. In Peru, the *décima* was a male activity and was used also to tell histories about important events. *Décimas* in Peru were often accompanied by a guitar (Montiel, 1995:14). Nicomedes Santa Cruz was one of the most important Afro-Peruvians writing poetry in the style of the *décimas*. The following was dedicated to El Café<sup>91</sup>.

### **El Café**

Tengo tu mismo color  
Y tu misma procedencia,  
Somos aroma y esencia  
Y amargo es nuestro sabor.

Tú viajaste a Nueva York  
Con visa de Zimbabué,  
Yo mi Trópico crucé  
De Abisnia a las Antillas.  
Soy como ustedes semillas.  
Soy un grano de café.  
En los tiempos coloniales  
Tú me viste en la espesura  
Con mi liana a la cintura  
Y mis arbóreos timbales.

Tengo tu mismo color  
Y tu misma procedencia,  
Somos aroma y esencia  
Y amargo es nuestro sabor...  
Vamos hermanos valor,  
El café nos pide fe;  
Y Changó, y Ochún y Agué<sup>92</sup>  
Piden un grito que vibre  
Por nuestra América libre,  
Libre como su café!.

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<sup>91</sup> Coffee. I have your same color, and same origin. We are smell and essence, and bitter is our flavor. You traveled to New York with a Zimbambue visa, I crossed my tropic, from Abisnia to the Antilles. I am like you a seed, I am a coffee grain. In the colonial times, you saw me in deepness, with a vine on my waist, and my drums made up of trees. Let's go brothers, the coffee ask us for faith. And Changó, y Ochún y Agué, ask for a scream for our free America, Free as our coffee.

<sup>92</sup> This are names of African gods.



## IV B. Rural Chincha and El Guayabo Cultural Manifestations

In the countryside, the rural culture of Afro-Peruvians is the product of collective memory and syncretism. The Spanish influence together with constant exchange of food products and customs with the Andean people, made a distinctive El Guayabo cultural fusion.

Chincha is a very rich region in oral history and culture and is a unique site of Afro-Peruvian cultural expressions. In El Guayabo, the villagers know, although they are very young, how to tap or to play the *cajón* or other percussion instrument. I have the image of Adrian Cartagena, a six year old, playing a masterpiece with the drums. El Guayabo people have a natural disposition for percussion instruments as well as for dancing. As an example, Alexandra, a five year old, dances *festejo* in Mamainé's restaurant with her friends, while Adrian plays the *cajón*. Both the children and the customers enjoy that very much. I found the village young boys sometimes rehearsing their tapping, while a three-year-old child was already trying to imitate them. Percy Farfán confirms: "*Esta cultura es natural, no es nada académico, es algo que pasa de generación en generación, Y para mi era un escape maravilloso*"<sup>93</sup> (7/20/2008). Percy used the word escape because he had to work with his family when he was a child plus study at school, and escaping a difficult reality became an important part of his life.

According to Marina Esther Cartagena de Cotito, "Mamainé", there are few young people who do not like music, but she is concerned about the new styles. Mamainé says about dance: "*En el baile la cultura ha cambiado mucho. No me gusta cuando*

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<sup>93</sup> This is a natural culture. It is not academic, something that goes through generations. And for me was also a wonderful escape.

*bailan con faldita corta. Debe ser bailada con falda larga, allí esta la elegancia.*

*Después la gente no aprecia la cultura si no otra cosa”<sup>94</sup> (7/22/2008)*

Moreover, El Guayabo residents are not only performers, they are musicians as well. As Elizabeth Cartagena, “Ali”, states: *[Aquí en El Guayabo] Música también hacen, habían tres grupos. Se han ido desintegrando. Los chicos saben bailar, ensayan dos, tres veces y ya esta... acá desde que nacen ya están bailando. Acá a quien le enseñan. Los Ballumbrosio zapatean, y se esta formando un grupo de zapateo en El Guayabo. Mi yerna que es hija de Amador Ballumbrosio, zapatea. El Yves<sup>95</sup> toca cajón, cajita, zapatea. Yo tengo allí cajita.<sup>96</sup> (7/22/2008).* It is interesting how the idea of “here” and “they were born dancing” gives us an understanding of the existing bond between their land and their expressive culture. For the villagers this is a reason of pride but also concern, because they have a huge responsibility in keeping this cultural legacy. Victor Cotito, the governor, states his preoccupation with preserving their musical background: *esa música no se puede perder... así como nuestros padres nos han dejado algo de la cultura negra, hay que seguir... y así así, hay que seguir cultivando esa música no se puede perder, en ningún momento se puede perder, ves que los chicos siguen tocando, los cajoneros.. tenemos que seguir utilizando la música negra<sup>97</sup> (7/2/2008).* Although Victor Cotito is concerned about music, culture and the perpetuation of tradition, there

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<sup>94</sup> The dance culture has changed a lot. I do not like it when [festejo] is danced with short skirts. It must be danced with long skirt, there is the elegance. Then the people do not appreciate the culture but another thing.

<sup>95</sup> Ali's grandson

<sup>96</sup> They do music too, there were three groups, now they are disintegrated. The kids know how to dance, they rehearse two, three times and it is done. Here since they were born, they have been dancing. You do not have anybody to teach here. The Vallumbrosio[family] tap, another tapping group is forming in El Guayabo. My daughter-in-law is daughter of Amador Vallumbrosio and she taps. Yves plays *cajon*, *cajita* and he taps. I have a *cajita*.

<sup>97</sup> This music cannot be lost... just as our parents had left us something of the black culture, we have to keep on going ..and like this, we have to keep cultivating this music. It can never be lost. You see the kids still playing, the cajon players.. we have to keep on using black music.

are others like Fernando Peña who are convinced their traditions will last through generations: *Cuando tu le pides a cualquier criatura de cinco, seis años y te están bailando la música a la perfección, y sin tener un profesor al lado. Todo eso lo llevan en la sangre. Eso para que se pierda yo creo que va a ser muy difícil. Yo bailo, zapateo, toco cajón. Mis ancestros también lo hacían. Me pones cualquier cosa que es percusión y yo igualito le voy a dar. Por que eso lo llevo aquí en la sangre. A mí nadie me enseñó a tocar, agarré los timbales y empecé a tocar. La música es algo importantísimo en mi vida*<sup>98</sup> (7/26/2008). As Fernando, El Guayabo people transmitted their knowledge to other villagers. In this way they preserve their background, one that connects music to all aspects of their lives including religion.

In the countryside, during the nineteenth century religion constituted an important tool for controlling slaves. Through the marriages, baptisms and religious festivities, the owners of the haciendas were interested in having a chapel and services for the slaves as a source of pride and way of having the slaves under control. I saw a graphic example in the Hacienda's San José painting, where the chapel is near the main house. Following the Catholic rules was vital for the slaves' safety, but I want to try to recreate what happened behind the haciendas' big houses, where the slaves expressed their faith through diverse means. The El Guayabo villagers tell stories, sing songs and narrate their actual cultural religious-manifestations. The main religious festivities in the countryside are derived from the religious festivities in Lima, the capital. Two of them became important for their association with blackness and one for association with El Carmen, a neighboring town.

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<sup>98</sup> When you ask a kid of five or six years old to perform, they dance the music to perfection and without a teacher by their side. All of this is in their blood. For this to get lost I think is going to be very difficult. I dance, tap and play the cajon. My ancestors did it too. Give me any type of percussion instrument and I am going to play it anyway. Because that is in my blood, nobody taught me to play, I took the timbales and I started to play. Music is a very important part of my life.

As Soledad Castrillón, viuda de<sup>99</sup> Cartagena, remembered, she talked about festivities and the type of mass typical in the main celebrations:

*Carola: ¿Cuándo tienen fiestas religiosas especiales?*

*Soledad: La primera es el madero de la cruz que es en Mayo, en Julio de la Virgen del Carmen, en Octubre el Señor de los Milagros, y en Noviembre de San Martín.*

*En la misa cantan canciones como festejo, pero son las mismas canciones de la iglesia.*

*Por ejemplo,[cantando]santo, santo, santo...y van bailando las chicas así...esas misas son cantadas, con baile también.<sup>100</sup>*

I attended the Virgen del Carmen festivity, and I heard this Catholic church song below accompanied with guitars and *cajones*. While people were singing a group of women went dancing in front of the altar boys and the priest.

*Song to the Virgen del Carmen*  
*Festejo religious song*

*Madre esperanza hija de Dios,  
Virgen del Carmen oyenos  
Orgullo de raza morena del Carmen  
Virgen del Carmen oyenos.<sup>101</sup>*

At all the mass intermissions, there are dances and songs even in church. There is a procession after the mass and fireworks called *castillos* that are set up at the virgin's path.

It seems a syncretic result of their ancestral worshipping, the *negritos* dance and the Catholic faith, but in this case there is also an Andean component. As it is evident,

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<sup>99</sup> Widow of. In Peru, sometimes this constitutes part of a person's name.

<sup>100</sup> Carola: When do you celebrate religious festivities?

Soledad: The first is the wooden cross that is in May, in July is the Virgen del Carmen, in October is El Señor de los Milagros, and in November San Martín. In the mass people sing songs like festejo, but are the same songs of the church. For example, [singing]santo, santo, santo...and they go dancing like this ...they are singing and dancing too.

<sup>101</sup> Mother, hope, daughter of God/ Virgen del Carmen hear us/ Pride of the dark race from El Carmen/ Virgen del Carmen hear us.

religion and music were always linked for Afro-Peruvians, and their ability is a gift from God and the Virgin, as Mario Cartagena said: *Tengo el don. Dios me ha dado el don, y la virgen de Carmen. Negra, esta pa' ti, [señalando al cielo], tengo la habilidad en las manos, y he trabajado con Eva, con Cecilia Barraza, con Lucila Campos, Lucila de la Cruz, Zambo Caverro, Rafael Matayana.*<sup>102</sup> Mario was one of the most important exponents of the village culture. He used to teach the children how to play the *cajón* and tap –like he did with Adrian, his pupil- and he also played in the nights just to have a nice time.

Since colonial times, Afro-Peruvians have practiced a syncretic religious mix of Catholicism and their animistic religion. Africans original religion connected their land and spirituality. They believed all in nature had souls, and they worship the souls by dancing. Another custom derived from their African ancestors is singing and dancing to express their mood and all aspects of their life as suffering or happiness. In their leisure times, in the city and the countryside, these people composed songs that talk about their work or the daily life. In this way, with this type of art, they complement nicely their daily work and their family and social relations (Pro Santana, 2006:10). As an example, here is the song of the town where Guayabo people express their pride and what is important for them.

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<sup>102</sup> I have the gift. God gave me the gift and the Virgen del Carmen. Black [referring to the virgin] this is for you, [pointing to the sky] I have the skill in my hands and I have worked with Eva, with Cecilia Barraza, with Lucila Campos, Lucila de la Cruz, Zambo Caverro, Rafael Matayana. [all of them Peruvian are singers and performers]

***Soy del Guayabo***  
***Singed by Mario Cartagena***

*Desde niño yo tenía que cuidar  
Los frejoles en el campo a sembrar  
Para que mi buena madre los pudiera cocinar.*

*Me dormía al costa'o del algodón  
Me tapaba con mantita a veces con mantón  
Los frejoles que en la olla hirviendo están  
Con la leña del Huarango que corto el negro Batan*

*Soy del Guayabo del Carmen  
La tierra 'onde están los negros de buena sangre  
Soy del Guayabo si señor  
Soy del Guayabo, como no  
Donde derramo bendiciones el niño Dios*

*Mis hermanos sin zapato  
Las espinas le abren paso  
Por que saben que ellos van a trabajar*

*Del Guayabo soy señores,  
Son mis padre son mis hijos  
Del Guayabo, Chincha, El Carmen soy yo<sup>103</sup>*

This song describes the hard work faced by the villagers when they sing: “my brothers barefoot, the thorns open their path”. They refer to their family united by hard work. On the other hand, they show pride when they sing that El Guayabo is the land where the baby Jesus spreads blessings. Similar to this song, there were other songs created with this duality of pride and suffering.

El Guayabo ancestors shared an enslaved condition, and the bad treatment of the masters sometimes made them flee. As *cimarrones*, they gathered in *palenques* far away

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<sup>103</sup> I am from El Guayabo/since I was a kid I had to take care/of the beans in the land to sow/ for my good mother could cook them/I used to sleep at the side of cotton/I was covered with a little blanket, sometimes with a big blanket/ the beans are boiling in the pot/ with the fire wood the black men Batan cut/ I am from El Guayabo from El Carmen/ The land where the blacks are of good blood/ I am from El Guayabo yes sir/ I am from El Guayabo of course/ the land where baby Jesus spread blessings/mi brothers barefoot/ they clear the thorns away with their feet/because they know they go to work/I am from El Guayabo /and my parents, and my sons/ From Guayabo Chincha El Carmen I am.

from the main cities or towns. The cultural expressions born inside *galpones*<sup>104</sup>, *palenques* and *quilombos* are lost. Instead, researchers have had to resort to oral history, either collected by others in archives, chronicles and descriptions of the public demonstrations of these black communities in different stages of their cultural history, or in my case, record them oneself as I did in El Guayabo.

Through the region's history, as is mentioned in Amador Ballumbrosio's tale, there was a food exchange between the coast and the highlands. This allowed the exchange of cultural expressions as well. As an example, in the highlands of Huanuco the first sugar refinery in the country was established, where the black slaves made up the labor force. In Huanuco, as in other parts of the country, the church formed *cofradías* to indoctrinate their slaves in the Catholic faith. These *cofradías* in Huanuco, are presumed to be the authors of the *negritos* dance. The performers used to go from the church and the main houses, visiting the *nacimientos*<sup>105</sup>, in front of which they used to dance, and sing (Rodrigues, 1997: 46) just as the *Negritos* from El Carmen used to do on December 24<sup>th</sup> and January 6<sup>th</sup>. The *negritos* dance company from El Carmen are composed of children tapping and singing a mix of *huayno* and Afro-Peruvian rhythm, to the sound of the violin and bells. On the night of December 24<sup>th</sup>, the *negritos* go around the plaza to all the establishments that have a Nativity scene. They tap and sing to baby Jesus until two o'clock in the morning (1/6/2008).

Another shared festivity between the Afro-Peruvians and the people from the highlands I mentioned before is the *yunsa*. In February El Guayabo people celebrate a *yunsa*. This has now become a shared custom but it is of Indigenous origin. Highland's

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<sup>104</sup> The places in the haciendas where the slaves were gathered

<sup>105</sup> Nativity scene.

people brought their dance into the village when they came to exchange their products and subsequently to work in the cotton season. The *Corta monte*, or *yunsa*, is a common festivity on both sides of the Mantaro Valley in the highlands (Rodrigues, 1997: 72). And nowadays, in El Guayabo, villagers such as Walter Peña, think this is the most important festivity in town (7/23/2008).

Since the dominant culture in the highlands was indigenous, the Afro descendants assimilated to it, but the highlands also incorporated African elements. The Afro-Peruvian music combines native *Huayno* with African beats. The Yungas from the Bolivia-Peru highlands have a dance called *morenada*. The dance recreates the slaves' slow and tragic walk from Buenos Aires, Argentina to the mines in Bolivia. The spirit of the dance is festive rather than sad (Bravo De Rueda, 2000: 236). They use masks with grotesque faces, and very rich costumes. The dance is closely related to another one called *Rey Moreno*, which is only different for the presence of the *caporales* (Rodrigues, 1997: 72).

#### **IV C. El Guayabo and Its Gastronomic Tradition**

El Guayabo cuisine has its roots in colonial history, and it is a key component of the national gastronomy.

For El Guayabo villagers, festivities come together with food, but when they were slaves, food constituted an enjoyable moment in their day of hard labor. For oral history, such as Amador Ballumbrosio's tales, one can reconstruct or have an idea of the ingredients available to the colonial inhabitants of the zone, and as a consequence how their gastronomy would have evolved. In one of his histories it is implied that Indigenous people's original purpose in coming to the coast was to exchange their products, giving to



the coast settlers a variety of ingredients. Corn was the staple of the black's diet, as it was for Indians and Spaniards. If we may believe one seventeenth-century observer, it was prepared in many tasty ways. And from corn, too, came the ubiquitous *chicha*<sup>106</sup>, consumed in vast quantities by African and Indian alike. In addition blacks seem to have been given relatively abundant amounts of bread, fish, plantains, and sweet potatoes, along with small amounts of meat (Bowser, 1974: 225). The black cooks cooked expertly and used spices skillfully (Montiel, 1995: 248). Since the amount of meat was small, the slaves had to look for other sources of protein to complement their diets. Proteins were made up fundamentally from the *menudencias* or entrails discarded by the Spanish elites. Amazingly, black cooks created delicious stews they combined with their main food. In the haciendas, the main food for the slaves was beans. Consequently, the contribution of the blacks to the national gastronomy includes all the recipes containing *menudencias* or entrails. Food such as the *cau cau*<sup>107</sup> (dish based on the *mondongo*<sup>108</sup>), *tacu tacu* (beans mixed with rice, warmed up the next day) *anticuchos* from heart, *pancitas* and *choncholi* from intestines are well known (Adanaque, 2001:31). The *Carapulca*<sup>109</sup> *de garbanzos* is the signature or “flag” dish of El Guayabo. Even though it is unclear whether there were significant differences in the diets of urban and rural slaves, one can recall the oral history, for example, of the tales about the exchanges between Indians and African slaves during the Hacienda period, where they got *papa, queso, oyuco*<sup>110</sup>, *su maíz, su cosa*.<sup>111</sup> (Fragment of the Amador Ballumbrosio's tale). With this exchange of ingredients, the

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<sup>106</sup> Alcoholic beverage obtained from the corn juice fermentation.

<sup>107</sup> Stew made of stomach, potatoes, peas and chili.

<sup>108</sup> Word used to designate the stomach of the cow in Peru.

<sup>109</sup> Dried potato stew.

<sup>110</sup> *Ullucus tuberosus*, a type of Andean tuber.

<sup>111</sup> They used to bring potato, cheese, oyuco, their corn, their stuff.

Afro-Peruvians from the coast had more options than the ones they originally had when they arrived.



**Fig. 16.** Right : *Carapulca de Garbanzos*. Left: *Seco con frejoles y cau-cau*.

To Mamainé, El Guayabo's most famous cook, I asked:

*C: ¿Qué es lo que más te gusta cocinar?*

*M: De todo. La gente lo que mas me pide es la carapulca Chinchana, la carapulca de garbanzos que es la Carapulca negra, me gusta cocinar de todo pero con amor. La carapulca de Garbanzos es la carapulca negra que antes se hacia acá, lo hacían nuestros ancestros. Lo que pasa es que con la otra carapulca Chinchana como que la dejaron de lado. Por que es muy rica pero es fastidiosa para hacer, tú tienes que estar allí, allí, constante, si la dejas de mover un poco se te puede humar. Se come con sopa seca. También cocino frejoles negros con arroz cau cau y seco, escabeche de patita, de*

*pollo....pero siempre vienen a pedir carapulca Chinchana*<sup>112</sup>. The *Carapulca* is a Peruvian dish cooked along the entire coast, but in Chincha they prepare it differently. The *Carapulca Chinchana* is prepared with fresh potatoes instead of dried potatoes, while the *Carapulca de garbanzos* is prepared with chickpeas. It is also cooked in some parts in the north of the country, but it is not commonly offered because of the difficulty and special skills required for cooking.

These food recipes were transmitted through generations, such as the example of Mamainé and her mother. Soledad Castrillón viuda de Cartagena, Mamainé's mother, talked about the *Carapulca de garbanzos*, the oldest gastronomic tradition in town, *Me gusta la cocina.... La carapulca, en misa de difuntos así, hacían su carapulca de garbanzos*<sup>113</sup> (7/15/2008). Food is an important part of their tradition in El Guayabo and people from Lima and other cities also recognize the cuisine of Guayabo. Ali Cartagena, who worked for an important politician, and declares: *Mi plato fuerte es el trigo. La cocina debe ser nacida....la mayoría de mujeres en El Guayabo cocina bien...cocinaba con mi abuela. Un tiempo cocine para Silva Ruete, me fui a Lima a trabajar*<sup>114</sup>. There are also recipes which are less sophisticated, but they are delicious, and are also products of El Guayabo creativity. The *jugosa* is a type of juicy and tasty spaghetti, which is a common dish. According to Walter Peña, the *jugosa* is prepared with noodles and fish cooked by burning onions together with oil, carrots, and tomatoes. This preparation is

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<sup>112</sup> Carola: What do you like to Cook the most? Mamainé: Everything. People ask me more for the carapulca Chinchana, The carapulca de garbanzos that is the Black Carapulca, I like to Cook everything but with love. The carapulca de Garbanzos was cooked before here for our ancestors. What happened is that with the other carapulca Chinchana the other was taken aside. Because it is delicious but is hard to prepare, you have to be there moving and moving, constantly. If you stop it can get burned. It is eaten with sopa seca. I also cook black beans with rice, cau cau an meat stew, escabeche from pork legs, from Chicken but people always ask for the carapulca Chinchana.

<sup>113</sup> I like to cook... the chickpeas *carapulca* is prepared for the office of the dead.

<sup>114</sup> My specialty is the trigo. One has to be born to cook. The majority of women in El Guayabo cook very well. I cooked with my grandma. I cooked for Silva Ruete for while, I went to work in Lima.

covered with water and when it is boiling, the noodles are added and cooked until they are ready (7/23/2008).

El Guayabo identity is reflected in the syncretic elements and the symbols captured in their cultural expressions and are the product a historical process. El Guayabo, assimilated Indigenous and Spanish elements, while maintaining their Afro-cultural roots. On the coast, Afro descendants practice culture with indigenous roots in such dances as the *Negritos* and the *yunsa*. Like *yunsa*, the villagers use several words in Quechua in their everyday life, including *taita* for father. They also have adopted some Andean customs as well as adapted Andean ingredients to their Afro-Peruvian cuisine.

From the Spaniards they assimilated the Catholic faith, but with their unique form of expression linked to music and dance. In the religious manifestations there is an evident syncretism in which their animistic religion, kept in their collective memory from Africa, is mixed with Catholicism and Indigenous elements, such as in the *negritos* dance.

As part of their collective memory they also kept their percussion aptitude in creating instruments with the elements they found in their environment. From all the instruments they created, the *cajon* was the one that achieved importance at the national level.

Spiritual concerns are important for Afro-Peruvians and take the form of both European Catholicism and African ways. El Guayabo community is a source of Afro-Peruvian pride, from the lack of streets and any pattern of distribution of the houses, to their unique way of adapting and keeping their Afro-Peruvian character to the changing conditions.

## **V. Blacks of Peru's Rural Coast: Environmental Interactions**

Human connections with the environment help to make human groups differ from place to place. The relationship between the land and the people on the coast is different from the one between the land and the people of the highlands.

People structure the place they inhabit in the way they build their houses, organize communities and otherwise use natural resources to fulfill their needs. A community's structure evolves continuously, and it becomes more complex with time. As a result of this evolution, communities develop an intricate structure, which together with the community's interactions, constitutes what we call "culture", which is unique to each human group. A very important aspect of culture is knowledge accumulated over hundreds of years of development. Culture refers not only to the music, literature, and art forms of given society, but also to all the main features of a people's way of life: prevailing modes of dress; routine living habits; food preferences; the architecture of houses and public buildings; the layout of fields; systems of education, government and law; and people's values and beliefs (De Blij, and Muller 1986:136), among other particular characteristics intrinsic to each human group.

In the case of Africans that came to the Americas, the original land-people relationship was broken and another unfamiliar structure of place was imposed. In this chapter I analyze how the El Guayabo villagers shaped a particular space to create their home and I propose a reason why El Guayabo homes are built in a random spatial pattern. Also, I will discuss the manner in which houses are constructed and why the prevailing style is suitable for El Guayabo people. This section emphasizes the symbolization process as it relates to the formation of the El Guayabo cultural landscape.

Environmental symbolism is one means whereby social identity and reality are created (Rowntree et al., 1979: 459) and this approach is relevant to the purposes of this work. After outlining the structure of the village, I will detail how this random-pattern style, together with other specificities typical of their structure of place, combines to define important elements of their positive identity in the Peruvian environment.

Finally, I analyze the process of their agrarian activities and their economic identity. Specifically, this analysis will deal with how agrarian reform and land tenure changed their lives as their landholdings were formally legalized.

From ethnographic interviews, I gained a native's perspective of El Guayabo, and the inhabitants' social relationships and economic activities. I also use aerial images, diagrams and sketches of El Guayabo and surrounding areas to interpret the meaning of its random-pattern of buildings. Lastly, I have included pictures and films of the village to record the less tangible characteristics of the cultural landscape, which are often significant in producing regional culture. These elements include not only the prevailing spatial organization of a town, but also its visual appearance, its noises, and even its pace of life (De Blij & Muller, 1986:142-143). The images, sketches and the maps will inform a better understanding of El Guayabo's cultural landscape.

Everything in El Guayabo is a reflection of its culture. The community has built a singular structure of place through the years as a result of the mixture of different factors. The El Guayabo town structure reflects memories of the inhabitants' African background and interaction with their new land as internal influences. The external influences involved the impositions of the Spaniards, cultural exchange with the Andean people, and the later connection with the government through land ownership and cultural exchange

with the capital, Lima. The random distribution of the houses, the dusty landscape, the welcoming nature of the town, and its unique cuisine, all reflect these influences.

Before the arrival of the Spaniards and Africans, the coastal southern communities achieved remarkable adaptations to maximize environmental opportunities. The south coast landscape is comprised of desert mountains. Between the desert areas, however, are rivers that descend from the highlands to form valleys. Even though this was not the most suitable agricultural land, early Peruvians managed their environment by constructing large irrigation systems (Keith, 1976: 9). On the Peruvian coast, it has been estimated that about 1.8 million acres were cultivated before the Spanish conquest (Keith, 1976:7). These coastal cultures were developed through resource management, the practices of which helped form El Guayabo culture.

In this chapter, I am interested in how El Guayabo settlers interacted and interact with their environment as a response to their former and current condition. I will analyze their landscape, a product of their resistance and historical background, and also how land ownership changed their life and continues to be a matter of concern.

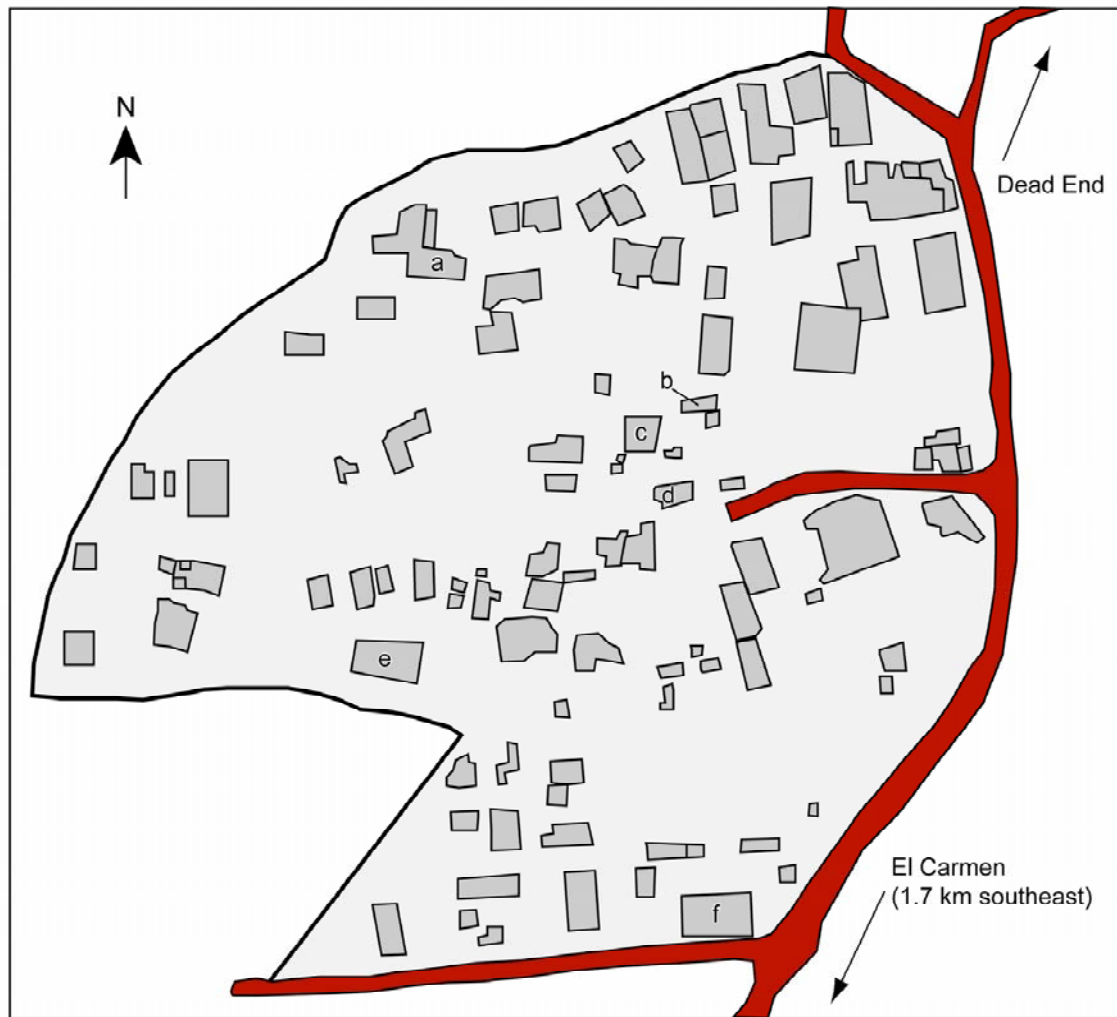
## **V A. What the Spaniards Found: Historical Place**

Before the Spaniards came to the Americas, the Peruvian territory was occupied by the Inca Empire, and before it, other cultures were developed. On the southern Peruvian coast, two high pre-Columbian cultures developed: Nazca and Paracas. After them, the Chincha state was formed, which was conquered between 1460 and 1480 to make up part of the Inca Empire (Keith, 1976: 17). In 1568, when the Spaniards entered the Southern coast, they already found an agricultural system in place, and they changed

the original crops to the ones that were more suitable to their needs. The Indigenous population was decimated by forced labor and the diseases the Spaniards brought to the country (Bowser, 1974:3). As a result the Spaniards imported an African slave labor force.

In 1688, Africans arrived in the Hacienda San José. In this arid place they built their new home. The Spaniards allowed slaves to gather in small groups in some parts of the Hacienda's land apart from the main house. The El Guayabo people were told to settle about three kilometers from the Hacienda's main house. Since that time, the village has shown in its process of settlement an unexpected pattern of distribution that varies from the one brought by the Spaniards. This type of non-compliance is explained by Lester B. Rowntree and Margaret W. Conkey in "Symbolism and the Cultural Landscape", where symbolization is argued to be a response to cultural stress (459). In El Guayabo's case, the random distribution of homes can be interpreted as a symbol of resistance to Spanish oppression (Figure IV1). This landscape is symbolic of the conqueror-conquered social relationship. The Spaniards modified the coast to fit their own necessities and customs as well.





**Fig.17.** Sketch of El Guayabo pattern of distribution. Seen from 118 m above ground, based on a satellite image obtained from Google Earth. Shown are human built structures (houses, fences) and major roads (in red). Marked with letters are the main buildings: a= Sandra Cartagena's house, b= Governor's house, c= Mamainé's restaurant, d= Communal kitchen, e= Church, f= Primary School.

## V B. Shaping the Environment: El Guayabo Construction

The Peruvian coast has a temperate climate due to its latitude, and the humidity is very high. The landscape is one of desert mountains interrupted by oases. The cold Humboldt Current chills the air as it moves towards land, creating a stable high pressure

system over the coast, which is held in position by the barrier of the Andes. This system does not produce rain; rather it produces a heavy mist called *garúa*, the only regular form of precipitation known to most of the coast. There are also subterranean sources of water on the coast (Keith, 1976: 6). *Puquios* or wells are common in all the valleys and have provided water both for households and irrigation systems since early times. Such water sources allowed for early cultivation of maize and squash during the pre-colonial period. Subsequently the area's agriculture was extensively improved with sophisticated irrigation systems. During the colonial period, in this coastal area, the traditional crops were supplemented and sometimes replaced by sugar cane and grapes. It was not until the Hacienda period that cotton became important.

The importance of the economic contribution made by the Afro-Peruvians is fully recognized by descendants, such as Rolando Palma: *Por que si el negro vino y trabajó en las haciendas costeras, trabajó en las minas, trabajó en el azúcar fue con su mano y obra que contribuyeron al desarrollo de la colonia al imperio español que expandió sus linderos y de la misma forma contribuyó a que este país creciera, por eso la presencia del negro hay en todos los estamentos, no sólo esto o la música, si no en todo*<sup>115</sup>

(7/15/2008). Since the Hacienda period, cotton constituted the main economic activity of El Guayabo's people. I asked Alejandro Cartagena, a 72 year-old settler, how much El Guayabo had changed from the fifties to nowadays, and he answered: *Huy hija de mi corazón, el Perú y el mundo a cambiado. Te das cuenta. De la entrada de San José yo*

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<sup>115</sup> Because if the black came and worked in the coastal haciendas, he worked in the mines, he worked in the sugar mill. It was with his hands and work that contributed to the development of the colony, to the Spanish empire that expanded their boundaries, and in the same way contributed to the growth of the country. Because of this, the presence of the black concerns all aspects, of life not only the music but everything.

*venía a trabajar acá, yo me iba en burro. Después fue hija que repartieron la hacienda y por decir cada uno se quedó en su sitio estábamos esperando al patrón a ver a quien sacaría por suerte, aquí está su sitio, aquí nos hemos quedado*<sup>116</sup> (6/26/2008)

(Figure IV 2).

The words of Don Alejandro referred to the Agrarian Reform in 1968, by which the workers received the titles to their land. According to the Agrarian Reform, the workers had to join in cooperatives to organize land ownership and Victor Cotito said in this respect: *En ese tiempo, eran los patrones. Automáticamente, cuando entró la reforma, habían trabajadores, automáticamente tenían que entrar como socio, por qué? porque los encontraron trabajando. Todos los que los encontraban trabajando entraba como socio a la cooperativa. Y de allí la cooperativa era una cooperativa de producción, y también le tocaba su parcela*<sup>117</sup> (6/26/2008). When the agrarian reform took place, the hacendados had to give up the land, and this fact remained in the mind of villagers such as Mario Cartagena: *Lo que ha pasado con la reforma, la reforma agraria para nosotros fue lo mejor. Hay mucha gente, los gringos se quejaron, lloraron....(bromeando) hay me quitaste mi tierra ....yyyyyyyy...yyyyyy. Pero la tierra es de quien la trabaja 'mano. Y hay ahora personas tan idiotas, como el caso de la Margarita.....que perdieron toda su*

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<sup>116</sup> Oh daughter of my heart! Peru and the world have changed. Can you see? From the entrance of San Jose I came, riding a donkey. Then daughter, they distributed the hacienda's land, and then each of us were waiting for the boss. He would state randomly who was going to stay in an assigned place, and here we stayed.

<sup>117</sup> In this period were the bosses, and automatically the reform came and the workers became members [of the cooperative] because they found them working. Everybody that was working became a member of the cooperative, From that time on it became a production cooperative and also one had the right to a plot of land.

*tierra, che'su mare, me da tanta rabia a veces. Acá en El Guayabo, la [tierra] tenemos nosotros, acá nadie ha vendido nada.*<sup>118</sup> (6/18/2008)



**Fig. 18.** Aerial image of the distance from El Guayabo to the Hacienda San José. Seen from 129 m. above ground, based on a satellite image obtained from Google Earth. The white line marks the distance between the two places (about three kilometers).

<sup>118</sup> What happened with the Agrarian reform was the best for us. There were a lot of people such as the gringos that complained, they cried....[joking] buuuuuuu, you took my land away from me. But the land belongs to he who works it, brother. And now there are foolish people such as those in the [cooperative] Margarita that have lost their land. I get so angry sometimes. But here in Guayabo we have it [the land], here nobody sold it.

## V C. The Sinchi Roca Cooperative

Production cooperatives were and are still defined as a self-managed association for market production. The members must work in the enterprise and manage it according to democratic principles (McGregor, 1977: 478). El Guayabo village belongs to a cooperative called Sinchi Roca, which includes 67 members (Figure IV3). The cooperative manages the communal lands. At the time the Sinchi Roca cooperative was established, its first duty was to distribute the land. The total amount of land assigned to the cooperative was 1,042 hectares, under a unique land title. These lands were distributed between three villages: Chamorro, San Regis, and El Guayabo. In the first meeting, the members considered it fair to give four hectares to each member, and six hectares to a married couple, according to the available land. The lands that belong to the cooperative are divided on agricultural land or plots, communal land and land for living. The cooperative is sustained by communal land production, and the rent of agricultural-machinery. The cooperative has a president, which is elected by the other members each six years.

The governor of the village, Victor Cotito, told me: *El Guayabo tiene una extensión de vivienda de 15 He y con parcelas 385 He. Carola: ¿Y todas esas parcelas ya están asignadas a cada familia? Victor: Sí. Hay parcelas de cuatro hectáreas que es individual. Familiar, que son marido y mujer le tocaba seis hectáreas. Se va incrementando la población y los terrenos se reparten dentro de la misma familia*<sup>119</sup>(7/2//2008).

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<sup>119</sup> El Guayabo has an extension of 15 He of village and 385 with land plots. Carola: And all these plots are already assigned to each family. V: Yes. There are plots of four hectares that are individual. Familiar, which is for husband and wife, have six hectares. The population is growing and the land is divided inside the same family.

Although the cooperative system allowed the villagers to own the land, the system has its disadvantages. I did not know the villagers did not possess individual land titles until Marina Cartagena de Cotito told me: *Siempre hemos tenido certificado de posesión. Pertenece a lo que es la cooperativa. La Cooperativa va a la municipalidad y paga el autoavalúo global. Pero ponte, que le caiga a la cooperativa y venga alguien y que compre un montón de chacras, la chacras de la Cooperativa [...] y ellos pueden decir he pagado tanto, todo es mío, y como no tienen título. Como ha pasado en que Pinta es un centro poblado a dos kilómetros del Carmen. Y yo no quiero que pase eso acá en El Guayabo donde vivo yo. Con tanto esfuerzo que uno construye su casa, aunque la cooperativa me construyó mi casa, pero de lo de afuera es mi esfuerzo*<sup>120</sup> (7/22/.2008).

During the Velasco government, the custom duties imposed on the kinds of products produced in cooperatives were extremely high. In this case, subsidies given to cotton were high enough to balance its price. Therefore, the prices of cotton produced by the cooperatives were competitive on the international market. The government subsidies on cotton were reduced gradually over time, and now do not exceed 17%, which makes the cotton prices more vulnerable to the external market. In this way, the cooperatives lose their strength, not being able to compete with the real international prices.

The Guayabo people face the danger of losing their land, due to the actual weakness in the cooperatives, as Percy Cartagena told me when we were talking about the roles of cooperatives: *El sistema de cooperativa ha fracasado. Y los intermediarios te*

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<sup>120</sup> We always had a possession certificate that belonged to the cooperative. The cooperative pays taxes to the municipality. But imagine that somebody goes to the cooperative and buys a lot of land. They can say, I paid this amount of money [for land], all is mine, and they have no land title. That already happened in Pinta, a village located at two kilometers from El Carmen. I do not want it happen here in El Guayabo where I live. With so much effort one builds a house, even though the cooperative built my house, the outside is my own effort.

*prestan. Tú eres intermediaria tienes el dinero, como no tengo crédito te digo toma, trabaja tu tierra, pero después me devuelves pero con intereses, y todavía me quedas debiendo. No es justo, pero eso se da hace muchos años, y eso lo saben las autoridades, pero hay muchos intereses de por medio, y el que siempre recibe menos es el agricultor*<sup>121</sup> (6/26/2008). The cooperative system has lost its strength, and the villagers decided to change their ownership regime to private property.

While it may be true that the people of El Guayabo are facing a change in the regime of land ownership, agriculture nevertheless will continue to be the principal economic activity of the village, as it was for centuries. The quality of the land and the type of environment allow for the growth of several crops. When the Jesuits owned the Hacienda they used it to grow grapes and sugar cane. During the hacienda period, the main crop changed to cotton. I talked to Rolando Palma about the economy of the region, and he told me that: *Ica es un departamento agrícola por excelencia, y es el primer departamento algodonero del Perú, gracias a los valles precisamente de Chincha, es uno de los valles predilectos por la tierra del distrito del Carmen*<sup>122</sup> (7/15/2008). In the El Carmen Valley, to which El Guayabo belongs; the three main crops are cotton, maize and *camote*<sup>123</sup> (Figure 19).

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<sup>121</sup> The cooperative systems have failed. Now the intermediaries have the money, and because I do not have credit, the intermediary says: here you have [the money] work your land and then you give me back but with interests and even I remain owing you money. That is not fair, and this is happening for several years. The authorities already know that, but there are so many interests in these deals, and who always receives less is the farmer.

<sup>122</sup> Ica is an agricultural department for excellence. And it is the first cotton producer in Peru thanks to the Chincha valley, that is one of the favorite valleys for the El Carmen [district] quality of land.

<sup>123</sup> Sweet potato.



**Fig. 19.** From left to right, maize, sweet potato, cotton.



**Fig. 20.** Cotton flowers in different stages

a)



b)



c)



e)





## V D. Sowing Cotton in El Guayabo

The villagers alternate the crops they grow, but the preference is always for cotton, because even though it requires more work, the profits are higher than for maize or sweet potatoes. To understand better how cotton is processed, I interviewed two farmers, Italo Palma and Melchor Cartagena. The cotton season starts in August, and the workers make furrows in their parcels to let the water moisten the ground. After a week, they removed the soil and homogenize the surface.

Before sowing, the seeds are treated with an insecticide called Pentacloro. The most common variety is Tanguis, and the cost is approximately 250 soles (approximately 83 dollars) for a *quintal*<sup>124</sup>. They need about two *quintales* to sow approximately three hectares. Then, the land must be fertilized with chicken manure, urea, phosphorus, and potassium. Some do the planting by hand with their families, but when labor is insufficient, they hire others or rent a special tractor that sows and covers the seeds. This extra labor force comes mainly from the highlands during the picking season. Andean people come to the coast as wage laborers, rarely with the intention of staying. Most return to their homes after the working season is over. There are exceptions, however, and in El Guayabo, Indigenous characteristics are evident from people that came for the picking season but decided to remain, either attracted by the labor opportunities or because they fell in love.

About three people per hectare are needed to plant cotton, and the work can be done in a couple hours. Some farmers prefer using the tractor because it takes less time to hire/rent than people, but is more expensive.

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<sup>124</sup> 46 kilograms.

After a month, the plants are about twenty centimeters tall. In this phase the plants must be spaced by twenty to thirty centimeters, and the weeds growing around them must be removed. Mainly families do this part of the work, but if extra labor is needed, this service costs 150 soles (approximately fifty dollars), and this is a flat price charged for a plot. In October the plants are 80 centimeters tall and have flowers (Figure 20).

Insecticides are applied constantly throughout the growing season. Atabron is applied according to the presence of the *Iliote* or *picudo* pest,<sup>125</sup> and the plot is then watered again. In November they have to remove a little flower from the top of the cotton bud which is where the pest lives. During December and January the cotton buds receive regular care. In February farmers irrigate heavily for the entire day. Later in March when the plants are around two meters in height, another type of pest surfaces: the *cuculema* or *mosca blanca*, against which they apply Cipermetrina. The harvest season or *apañado* is April to June. I went with El Guayabo workers to do this part of the work. After the harvesting, the farmers sell the cotton. The cotton gin owners are the main ones that buy the cotton from the farmers. In exchange, the farmers buy necessary agricultural inputs. In this way the farmers are subject to the gin owners' rules and the prices they offer.

After the cotton is sold, it is transported to storage rooms until there is enough for processing. Trucks are eventually packed (Figure 21a) with approximately seven tons of cotton. The cotton is carried to a cotton gin to be processed (Figure 21). The end result is huge packages weighing between 450 and 500 kilograms. In the picture of the cotton bundle, the weight is the second number in black (Figure 21e).

**Fig. 21.** Cotton Process

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<sup>125</sup> "*Picudo peruano del cuadro*". *Anthonomus vestitus*.  
Distribution: In the American continent: Ecuador and Peru.

Afro-Peruvian Identity and its connection with the land:  
The Guayabo-Chincha case



a) Villagers filling the truck.



b) Villagers unloading the truck.



c)

Cotton gin.

Products

Carola, Ramírez Caste



d) Unprocessed cotton of Tangüis variety.



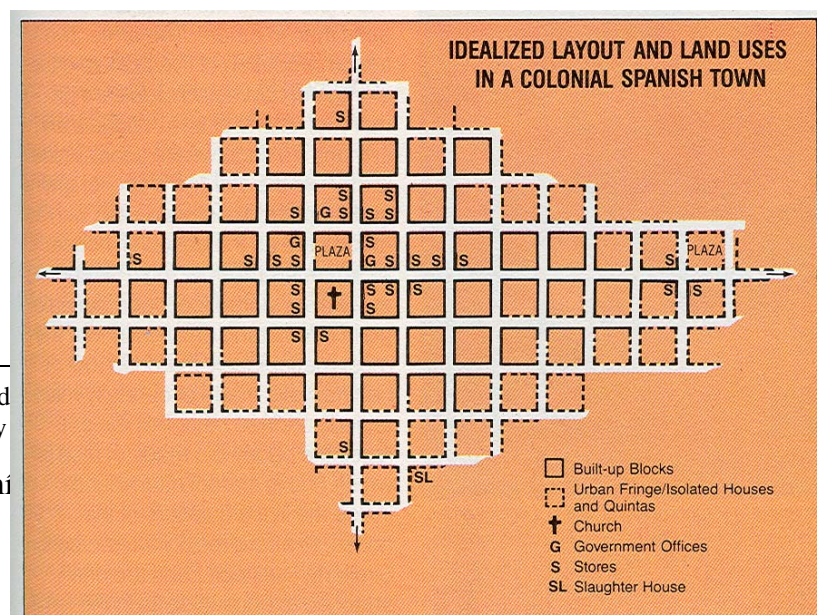
e) Resulting cotton bundles. The second number is the weight of the bundle.

The work the villagers do in the plots and in the processing is according to the phase of the cotton season. Of course the hardest part is the harvesting, which is when the personnel from the highlands come down to look for work. Each cotton season needs investment, and the villagers do not always have sufficient funds. What happens is that some villagers have to rent out their plots, because they do not have enough money to invest.

## **V E. Place Holding: El Guayabo Population and the Interaction with Their Land**

When I asked if they have always lived in El Guayabo, a common response was: “I was born and bred here”. El Guayabo’s people feel a strong attachment to their community because they were born there (Wade, 2002:84), because they live there, or they were raised there. When people say they are “born and bred”, ambiguous images are evoked: it might refer only to their individual life; and/or life experience. It might imply that they belong to a genealogical line or family that is rooted in that place (83). As Ali said: *Siempre he vivido acá, bueno, nacida y criada acá*<sup>126</sup>. Moreover, El Guayabo people recognize their attachment to the place not only as having been born and bred there, but also as a commitment to its people. On one occasion Felix Peña, “Maravilloso” told me: “*tu ya pareces de Guayabo, deberías hacerte tu casa acá*”<sup>127</sup> (7/24/2008) because of my involvement with the community and the people of the town.

El Guayabo villagers described how they chose their houses and constructed their settlements, which was according to their ways, different from the ones of their oppressors. As Mario Cartagena tell us, *en El Guayabo la gente hizo su casa donde quiso*. In the neighboring town, El Carmen, the distribution of houses and buildings follows the typical rectilinear layout introduced during the Spanish colonial period, as depicted in figure 22.



<sup>126</sup> I always had

<sup>127</sup> You already



**Fig. 22.** Colonial-Spanish pattern of distribution. (De Blij & Muller, 1986: 331)



**Fig. 23.** Aerial image from El Carmen (Google earth 149 m altitude, 13°30'01''S and 76°03'22''O)

*A la gente del Guayabo no tiene de pelele, no le interesó nada pe....dijo allí  
(golpe en la mesa) mi casa. No como San José, San Regis, las casas ordenaditas, pero el  
Guayabo no pe, mis abuelos mis tatarabuelos deben haber sido igual que yo, allí hay un*

*pedazo de tierra, allí hago mi casa*<sup>128</sup>(6/18/2008). The “order” that Mario was talking about, is clear in the El Carmen example.

One of the goals of geographers is to understand human beings’ psychological dimension by studying how human beings transform their surroundings (Tuan, 1991: 101). In this Guayabo example of urban design, it appears that Guayabo villagers recognize a major difference between themselves and the surrounding towns as far as the way they have settled in their town. Architectural achievements rank among a culture’s proudest expressions of identity and capacity (De Blij & Muller, 1986:164). In several cultures, religious and government architecture have special features designated to symbolize authority and power. In the case of El Guayabo, there are no special structures other than the church. All the houses look the same, even the houses of the authorities. El Guayabo village has a special African touch to its architecture, according to Rolando Palma, a settler and El Carmen Municipality employee (Figure IV 7a, b). I asked Rolando what he thinks are the factors that determine the influence between the environment and culture, and he said: “*Yo te digo que este es un caso particular. No te olvides que Chincha fue la crema innata de la expresión Africana en el Perú. Hasta las mismas casas rurales, son construidas con un antojo Africano.*

*Entonces el ambiente no es que distorsionó o tuvo el negro que acoplarse, sino que el negro hizo su ambiente, por eso es la razón que hay manifestaciones de esta zona que siguen siendo las más apreciadas, las más admiradas, porque no han sido academizadas o han sufrido mucho choque. Es casi lo mismo que se ha traído de África*

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<sup>128</sup> In Guayabo the people did their house to their whim. They were not dumb, they did not care. He said there [knock the table] my house. We are not such as San José and San Regis, where the houses are very ordered, Guayabo is not like that. My Grandparents and my great grandparents must have been like me, there is a piece of land, there I build my house.

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*y que se sigue cultivando y perdura también de los tiempos. Hace las casas a su antojo [...] tienen una distribución antojadiza, o sea, él hizo a su ambiente. Su ambiente no lo hizo a él”<sup>129</sup>(7/15/2008).*

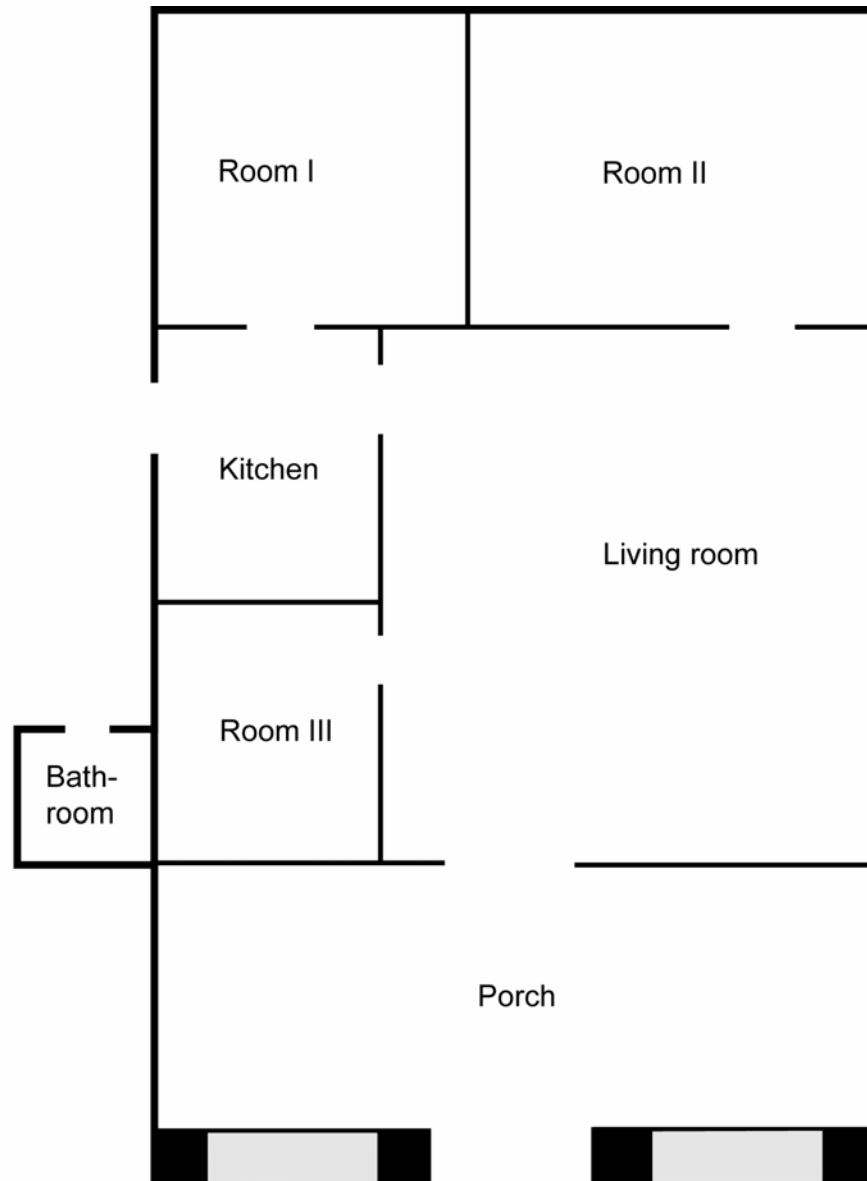
**Fig. 24.** a) Sketch of an El Guayabo typical house from the above.

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<sup>129</sup> I tell you that this is a very particular case. Do not forget that Chincha was a center of the African expression in Peru. Even the rural houses are built with an African touch. So, the environment did not distort nor the black did to adapt to it; the black made his own environment. That is the reason why there are manifestations in this zone that still are the most appreciated and admired. Because these manifestations were not theorized or dramatically changed, it is almost the same brought from Africa and we still cultivate it. The houses have a whimsical distribution, better said, he [the black] made his environment; his environment did not made him.



Afro-Peruvian Identity and its connection with the land:  
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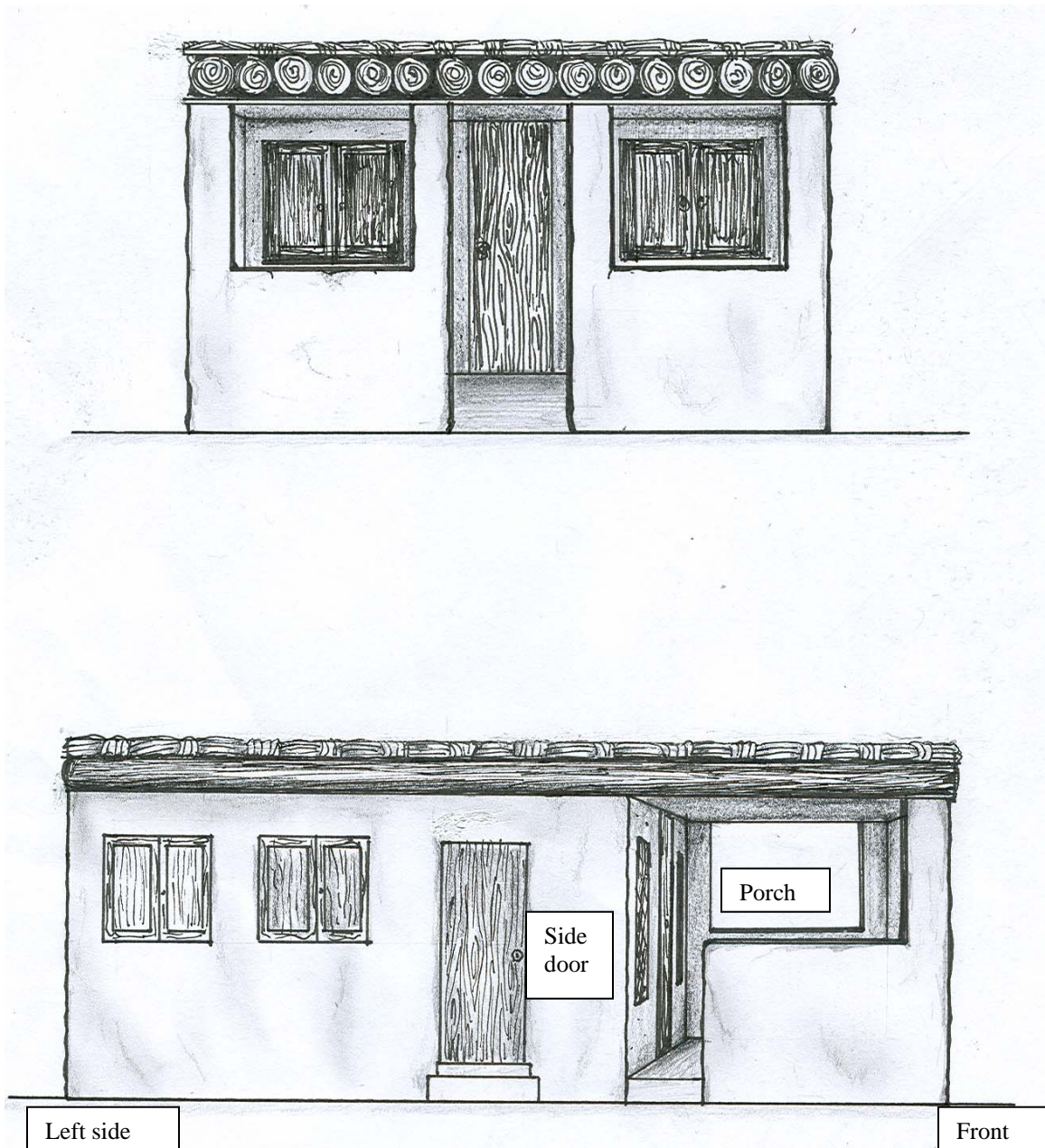


b) Sketch of an El Guayabo typical house. (Houchin, 2008)

Bamboo

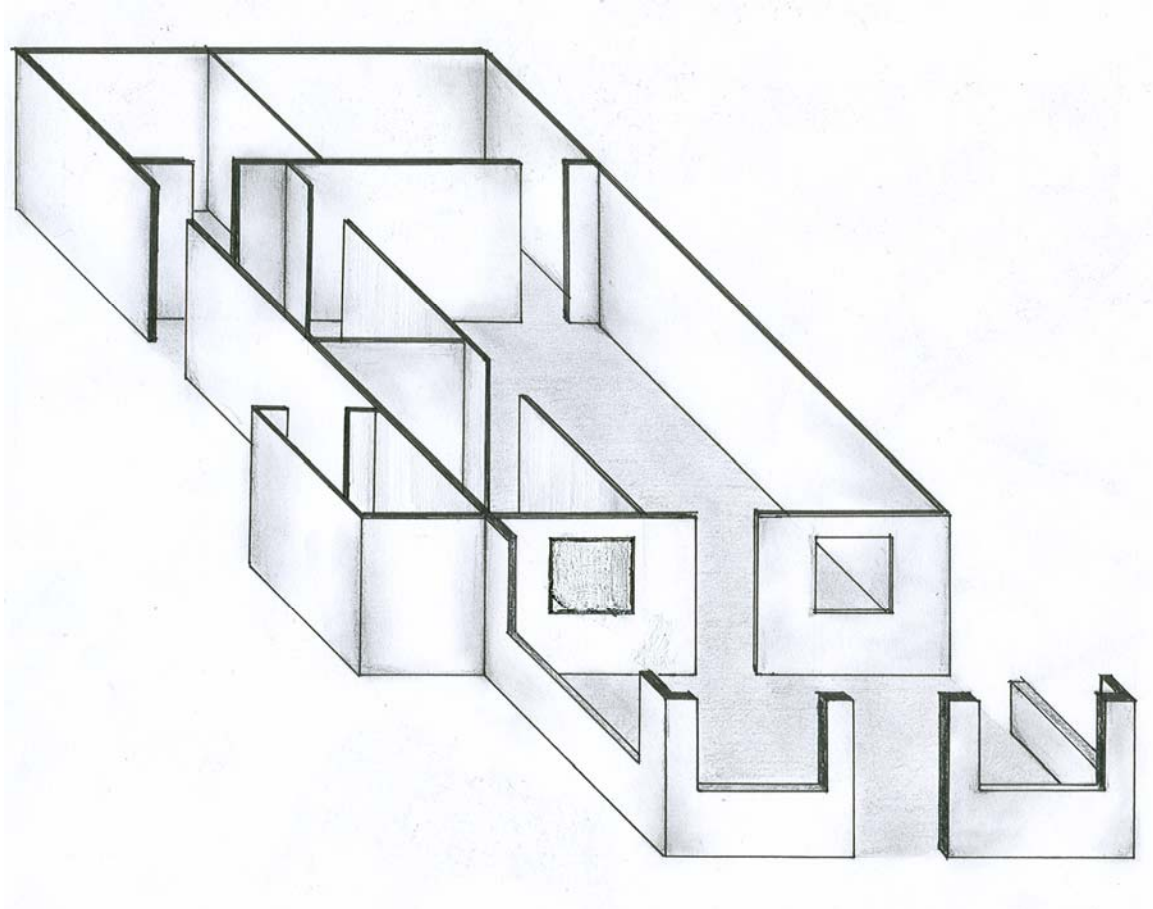
Mat roof

Afro-Peruvian Identity and its connection with the land:  
The Guayabo-Chincha case



Afro-Peruvian Identity and its connection with the land:  
The Guayabo-Chincha case

c) Sketch of an El Guayabo typical house, three-dimensional view. (Houchin, 2008)



And indeed the houses have an African touch. Examples of the African architecture used by some groups are proof of that. The Masai build their houses with adobe and used matt roofs, as well as the Togo village in West Africa, and some villages in Congo. (Fig. IV8)

**Fig. 25.** Pictures of African houses

a) Togo West Africa



b) Congo house



c) Masai house

#### IV F. The flow of Culture: The Lima-Chincha exchange

The Chincha area had one of the largest numbers of African slaves during the colonial period because of the haciendas' success. Their isolation from the main cities added to the low population density in the rural areas. This is another factor that explains why the Afro-Peruvians remained together, sharing their common characteristics. This also explains why El Guayabo constitutes a cultural heart/center of the Afro-Peruvian culture that remains isolated not only by geography, but also by the same containing society that denied their intrinsic importance as a contributor to Peruvian culture. As Percy Farfán has found out: "*Cuando estás en El Guayabo tu mundo gira en torno al El Guayabo, a Chincha; cuando sales de aquí te encuentras con muchas barreras. Cuando llegué a Lima encontré mucha hipocresía, mucho choque con la gente, sobre todo racista. Eso ha cambiado mucho para bien*".<sup>130</sup>

The diffusion of Afro-Peruvian culture had to occur with the help of governmental agencies, since the tendency of the Peruvian society is and was to imitate Western cultures. In 1936, a cultural exchange occurred because of a presidential plan to incorporate the rural cultural manifestations of the Peruvian culture. During the Augusto B. Leguía's government, Peru was recognized as a multiracial nation, and together with José Luís Bustamante y Rivero, promoted a large campaign to collect oral literature and folklore. From this time on, the exchange of cultural manifestations between Lima and Chincha has been constant. As Percy Farfán recalled, "*Juanchi Vasquez y Rafael Santa Cruz vinieron mucho. Ellos son amigos de mi mamá. Ellos vinieron para investigar la*

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<sup>130</sup> When you are in Guayabo, your world spins around Guayabo and Chincha. When you get out of here, you find a lot of barriers. When I arrived in Lima [years ago] I found a lot of hypocrisy, a lot of racial clash with the people. This has changed for the better.



*cultura negra de aquí del Guayabo*”<sup>131</sup>. Like them, there were several other researchers, musicians and performers that traveled to the region in order to inquire or learn about other Afro-Peruvian cultural expressions.

In this way, throughout the years, the Peruvians have known the *festejo* and the *pregones*<sup>132</sup> as well, because even though they were originally rural and city expressions respectively with the constant cultural exchange between the two, now they are widely known in the entire coast as Rolando said: “*Tú ves que ahora hay una universalidad [en la cultura Afro-Peruana] lo que se hace en Ica se hace en Nazca, se hace en Piura. Sí, hay algunos matices propios de la geografía del lugar donde vives pero al final las raíces son una sola. Carola: ¿Tú piensas que de cierta forma el ambiente también predispone a ciertos cambios en la manifestación cultural o no? Rolando: Por supuesto que sí. Eso es dentro de toda la raza humana. La geografía juega un papel importante en el desenvolvimiento de cualquier electrón, influye mucho*”<sup>133</sup>(7/15/2008).

The sense of identity of El Guayabo people is due to the historical process of approximately five centuries they have experienced together. By the acculturation process, stronger cultures imposed many of their attributes on weaker ones but they themselves may well adopt some of the weaker culture’s properties. At the same time some culture groups, isolated by desert, forest, mountains or distance, have experienced little acculturation (De Blij & Muller, 1986:149). In the El Guayabo case; it is clearly a mixture of both. During the colony, the Spaniards imposed their language and religion on

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<sup>131</sup> Juanchi Vasquez and Rafael Santa Cruz came a lot . They are friends of my mother. They came to do research on black culture from here, from El Guayabo.

<sup>132</sup> Street cry.

<sup>133</sup> Rolando: You see now there is universality [in the Afro-Peruvian culture] What they do in Ica is also done in Nazca, also done in Piura. There are some shades proper of ones own geography, of the place you live, but at the end the root is still one. Carola: Do you think in any way the environment allows for certain changes in the cultural manifestations or not? Rolando: Of course. That is all human kind. Geography plays an important role in the development of any electron, influences a lot.

the African slaves. As a result, nowadays the majority of Afro-Peruvians speaks Spanish and are Catholic, but they also added elements of their ancestral religions to the Catholic cult, creating their own syncretic faith.

In the case of language, in the Afro-Peruvian culture Spanish is mixed with Afro-rooted and Quechua words. The latter were imported due to the exchange with the highlands, which means that Afro-Peruvians have their own particular dialect of Spanish. The isolation of El Guayabo has protected this community somewhat from the interference of Lima. There are visitors that come to El Guayabo as I did. This is something the villagers enjoy a lot, because they are proud of their community. Elizabeth Cartagena, “Ali”, gave me an example of this: “*Carola: Si viene una persona de afuera, un extranjero ¿qué le dices?. Ali: Si viene hacia mi, yo lo acojo lo recibo, y a la persona que viene de afuera hay que acogerlo para darle la bienvenida a tu pueblo, para que se sienta tranquilo, conversar con el, ver si viene a conocer*”<sup>134</sup>(7/16/2008).

Another consequence or result of the village isolation is that in the zone, the majority of people are related to each other; a list of interviewee last names is shown in the appendices. This is another feature of the village: all are *familia* as Felix Peña “Maravilloso” said: “*Carola: ¿Cómo te sientes siendo parte de la comunidad del Guayabo? Felix: Bueno me siento feliz aquí en Guayabo con toda la comunidad completa, porque la mayoría aquí somos parientes. Todos somos familia, y si todos somos familia, todos somos felices.*”<sup>135</sup> (7/16/2008)

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<sup>134</sup> Carola: If a foreigner comes, what do you tell him? Ali: If he comes to me, I take in him, I receive him. One has to take in the foreigner to make him feel welcomed to your town, to make him feel comfortable. Talk to him to see if he comes to become acquainted to you.

<sup>135</sup> Carola: How do you feel making up part of El Guayabo community? Felix: Well, I feel happy here in Guayabo with the entire community, because the majority here are family. We all are family, and if that happens all are happy.

The environment of the Peruvian coast was imposed on the enslaved population during the colonial and hacienda periods. Later they made the land part of their identity; land ownership made this a stronger connection. Since they came into El Guayabo, these people interacted with the land and consequently constructed their place through a historical process. The unique construction of El Guayabo landscape is a source of positive identity.

During the colonial period, early El Guayabo settlers were oppressed but they expressed themselves through the cultural landscape. The most interesting expression is the random distribution of homes and buildings in the town, which can be interpreted as an example of symbolism. The El Guayabo villagers responded to social stress through the random placement of structures. Such a distribution was born as a symbol of stress, but it now constitutes a symbol of resistance and pride. The resistance in their symbolism was probably given at the time they decided not to follow the Spanish pattern for settling down the town. The pride that these Afro-Peruvian farmers have is expressed in their statements; the villagers are proud and happy to belong to El Guayabo. Moreover, belonging to the village implies an attachment to the place. Another particular expression of El Guayabo cultural landscape is house architecture, which has strong links to present day homes in African villages. From the villagers' assertions and my personal observation, El Guayabo cultural landscape is a humble one, but even this modest nature of place constitutes a source of pride.

Agrarian reform allowed El Guayabo villagers to own their own land. Despite centuries of oppression, finally villagers could benefit from their work and effort, when they received recognition as Peruvian citizens through the government actions. El



Guayabo people went through enslavement and peonage before owning the land under the cooperative regime, now they are transitioning to a private property regime, with many more changes to come. The cooperative was good because it gave them land, but now the system has weakened, and the villagers have to change to the private property regime. Communities must adapt always to deal with external impositions, and to follow models that seem unrelated to their reality.

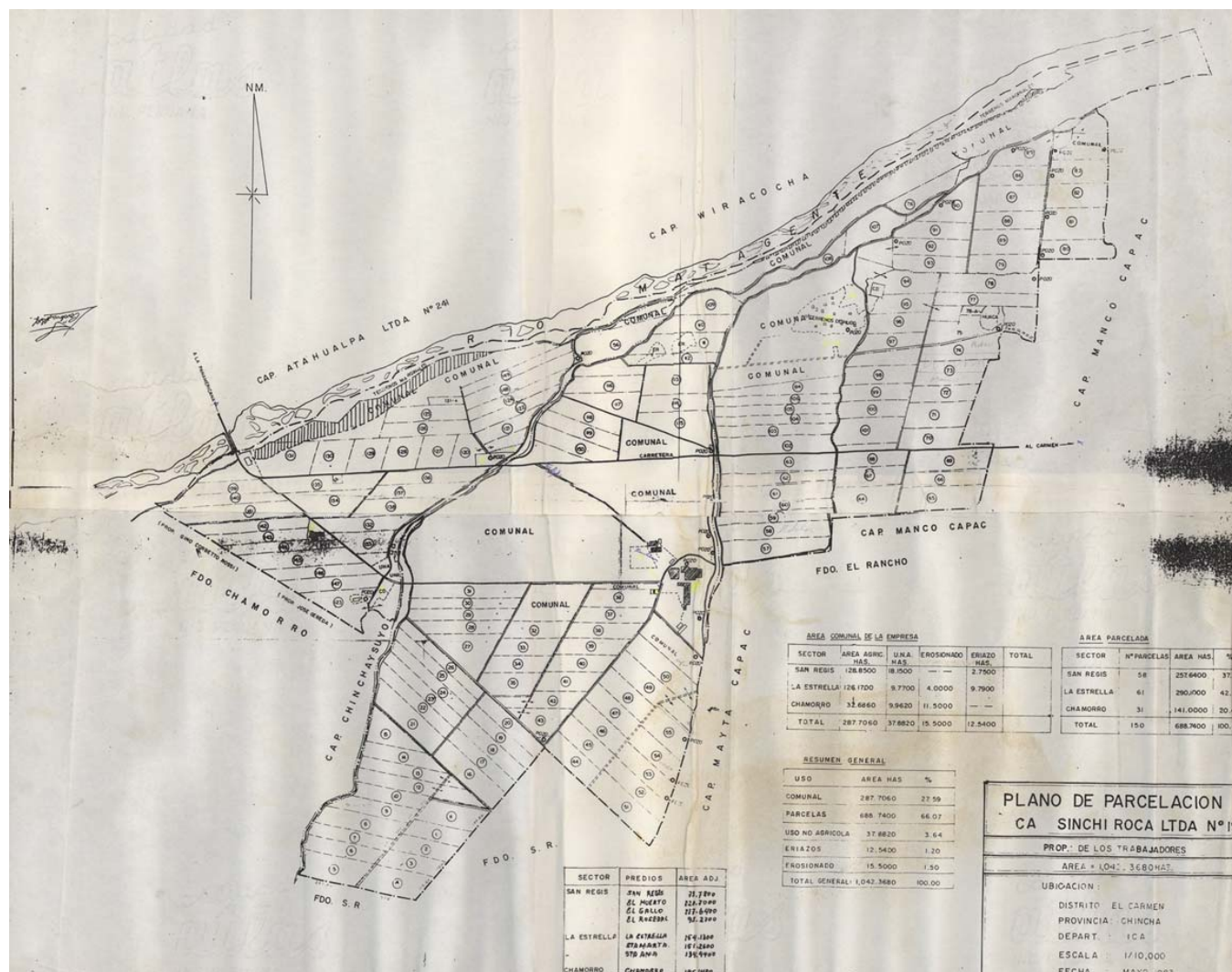
Change is inevitable, and the structures of the communities are in constant flux due to the fact that surrounding communities are constantly changing as well. To counteract the change, El Guayabo has a strong ancient culture its own cultural tools in order to deal with change. In that way the community is able to change while still retaining its unique culture. In addition, in 1963 they were connected partially to the capital. In that year, researchers from the capital came in search of cultural rural expressions and the village became an important source of information for the researchers. The villagers of El Guayabo, however, benefitted very little from this exchange.

At the same time, the proximity of El Guayabo to the hacienda San José is important for the sense of awareness it can create. The hacienda, as an historical-touristic attraction, maintains alive the meaning that it once had hundreds of years ago. Moreover, it is linked to the collective memory of the villagers since it continues to be a vivid representation of their past. Therefore, it connects this history with their current condition.

People from El Guayabo say that they want recognition, but I interpret this to mean they really want more people to flow in. They are always asking you to bring your

friends. The villagers can find in the visitors a sense of agency to change their current condition and benefit from visitors. As an example, the elevated well is a project developed with the help of a French photographer who wanted to help his friends to improve their quality of life. In its structure of place, El Guayabo is unique. The villagers found in it a reason to distinguish themselves from the surrounding towns, and that can be inferred from their declarations; the villagers are proud and happy to belong and be attached to El Guayabo. Moreover they are willing to share it with whomever can appreciate it because the landscape of El Guayabo is a simple one, but even this is a source of pride

Afro-Peruvian Identity and its connection with the land:  
The Guayabo-Chincha case



**Fig 26.** Map of the Sinchi Roca Cooperative. Three villages belong to this Production cooperative: El Guayabo, San Regis and Chamorro

## **VI. The Black identity in El Guayabo: Challenges and projections.**

Discrimination and racism are common everyday issues in Peru. They are so deeply rooted in society that they are expressed almost unconsciously. This happens despite multicultural constitutional citizenship reforms and other measures prohibiting racial discrimination. This prejudice varies substantially from the capital of Lima, where it is the strongest, to the far stretches of the Peruvian interior where it is still prevalent. If identity, as stated by Gonzalo Portocarrero<sup>136</sup> is the articulation of self-identifications that an individual has developed throughout their lifetime (169), then the problem of the Afro-Peruvians, especially those in Lima, is that they reject a very elemental part of their identity and therefore render their own self concept incomplete. Furthermore, that also explains the almost absent collective memory in Afro-Peruvians living in Lima. Collective memory plays a key role in the positive identity formation because it is with the acceptance of who one is, that one can construct a positive identity. Under these conditions, Afro-Peruvians could not easily develop a positive identity in the capital. On the other hand, in a few rare instances, such as in El Guayabo, the Afro-Peruvians have developed a positive identity based on their historical background, geographical situation, and an abiding connection to their land.

One's geographic origin plays an important role in their identity construction. It is the place where their individuality and sociality is developed, and one's identity has a lot of interconnectivity to his/her place of origin. In Lima, since the colonial period, Afro-Peruvians were confined to poor neighborhoods in the center where they lived crowded in insalubrious conditions. These poor neighborhoods were full of alleys, and each one

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<sup>136</sup> Cited by Jaime Bailon in "Nuevas estrategias de lucha de las minorías y el racismo cultural"

could hold around fifty people. The worst is that these places did not have water and sewers (Panfinchi, 2000:139). These slums had a vital role in defining the identity of the people in Lima, where the criteria of social differentiation were very rigid. The black slums were shared with people from other ethnic groups, but were mainly known as black neighborhoods because of the strong Afro-Peruvian cultural manifestations common in these places. The reason for this discrepancy is developed in this chapter, in addition to the connection of the Afro-Peruvian identity to their place.

El Guayabo is a rural community with distinctive features. Its uniqueness is due not only to its cultural manifestations but also to its historical background. This chapter addresses the identity of El Guayabo, an Afro-Peruvian community in coastal Peru. First, this part of the chapter pursues the affirmation of its identity and the emergence of its problematic self representation. The second purpose of this chapter is to emphasize the land-identity relationship constructed through historical development. The third purpose is to identify the elements of El Guayabo positive identity. For this part, I argue that collective memory plays a very important role in the identity construction, which is intimately connected with the symbols adopted by each human group. The distance from Lima -the center of social pressure- is also important to create the necessary awareness to achieve a positive identity. In order to reach these goals, this chapter will include the analysis of ethnographic interviews, conducted randomly among the villagers.

## **VI A. The Encounter with Others**

“The existence of others is crucial in defining what is “normal” and locating one’s own place in the world. The colonized subject is characterized as “other” through discourses such as primitivism and cannibalism as a means of establishing the binary separation of the colonizer and asserting the naturalness and primacy of the colonizing culture and world view” (Ashcroft et al., 2007:169).

Before the Africans were enslaved, they knew who they were within their communities of origin. Africans were also subjects of wars, domination, and enslavement in their own countries. This means they were aware of the subaltern concept. Through conquest, Africans met the new “other”, the Europeans. During the Atlantic slave trade, identity of African slaves was completely deconfigured. They traveled under the most inhumane conditions, and during these trips they traveled on the same cargo-ships with Africans from different parts of the continent. Some went to Portugal, others to Panama, and others went to the Atlantic coast of South America. When they arrived on the Peruvian coast, they were in touch with a third “other”, the Indian. What they had in common with the Indian was a shared subaltern position. What they did not share was “race” which emerged as the dominant form of identity in those societies where it functioned to stratify the social system (Smedley,1998: 690) and to divide subalterns against each other.

Before the Spaniards arrived on the African coasts, Africans had to deal with people from other parts of their continent, people from other ethnic groups, other religions, but that was not necessarily a matter of stratification. So when "race" appeared in human history, it brought about a subtle but powerful transformation in the world's perceptions of human differences. It imposed social meanings on physical variations among human groups that served as the basis for the structuring of the total society. Since that time many people in the West have continued to link human identity to external physical features. We have been socialized to an ideology about the meaning of these differences based on a notion of heredity and permanence that was unknown in the ancient world and in the Middle Ages (Smedley,1998:693).

The conquest brought feelings of self awareness and the idea of identity, but also the idea of the colonized and subjugated “other”. Even though El Guayabo villagers are aware of “others”, the differences for them are not so extreme. This is a part of my conversation with Sandra:

*Carola: Sobre la hospitalidad de la gente ¿que me puedes decir?*

*Sandra: A veces yo me preguntaba, si Guayabo no tiene nada por que la gente vuelve. Es por la gente. La gente es buena no tiene malicia... todos. Nada que acá los negros, los cholos, serranos. Todos vienen a veces por la fiesta de la virgen y después la gente regresa, y ellos traen a otros amigos y más amigos<sup>137</sup> (8/3/08).*

Sandra, like other villagers, recognizes the difference between peoples but asserts that it is not as important as the wish to establish friendship at the time. El Guayabo villagers were living alongside Indigenous people and also dealing with people from the outside. They think it is beneficial for the community to be friendly to everybody, and then people will return.

The positive identity of El Guayabo people is based on several factors. Identity can be understood as self-recognition. Moreover, at the collective level, the sense of identity is strengthened when its bond is to a kinship group, a village or other more limited territory (Smedley, 1999: 691). In this respect, El Guayabo villagers fulfill all these considerations both at an individual and collective level. The historical construction of El Guayabo's identity is also related to their ethnicity and occupation, since ethnic

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<sup>137</sup> C: In regards to the hospitality of the people, what can you tell me? S: Sometimes I would ask myself, if Guayabo doesn't have anything, then why do people come back? It's because of our people. Our people are kind; they don't have any meanness...everyone, nothing about the blacks, the mestizos, the Indians. Everyone comes for the celebration of the Virgin then they go back, they bring other friends and more friends.

groups have always existed in the sense of clusters of people living in determined area sharing lifestyles and language features that distinguishes them from the others. Moreover, occupation determines how people were viewed or treated as well as underscoring their contribution to the society (Smedley, 1999: 691). El Guayabo people are strongly related to each other and are farmers of their own land. They share the same historical past, which for them is vivid thanks to their collective memory and the symbols the community shares.

## **VI B. Syncretic Elements of Identity**

The so called "racial" mixture or miscegenation has occurred extensively in Latin America and to a lesser extent in North America. Most people are descendants of ancestors from Europe, Africa, and the Americas, and in some places from Asia as well (Graham 1990; Morner 1967, in Smedley, 1998:700). Peru was very similar. El Guayabo's identity was influenced by external and internal factors that shaped the community's character. The external factors include the Spanish influence through language and religion, together with the Indigenous component of food products, customs, language and knowledge of the land. All of these are components of their culture added to their Afro-Peruvian character. El Guayabo villagers speak Spanish and are mainly Catholic, but these two impositions were influenced by their historical background and their contact with the Indigenous people. The Indigenous component in El Guayabo's identity can be seen in their language, culture, and in the "mestizaje"<sup>138</sup> they experience nowadays. It is evident in the use of Quechua words, the adaptation of Indigenous festivities, and the Andean ingredients in their food. In this case, the dominant culture absorbed the weaker, and in El Guayabo the Indigenous people became Afro-Peruvian. It is clear that the dynamic

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<sup>138</sup> Ethnic mixing/blending



process of syncretism is taking place inside the village: first, Afro-Peruvians learned Spanish and became Catholic; then the Indigenous came to El Guayabo and became Afro-Peruvians. The villagers recognize the mix and the consequences as Martin Palma told me: *Antes el pueblo de Guayabo eran puros negros como nosotros, negros franceses, negros camerunenses. Pero ahora se está mezclando ya la raza. De aquí si vienes a cinco años ya no vas a encontrar a los negros si no que aparecen puros mestizos*<sup>139</sup> (7/10/2008). Some villagers disagree with Martin, but the truth is that ten years ago, the percentage of mestizos was lower.

## VI C. Land and Identity

El Guayabo people's cultural manifestations are what have made this Afro-Peruvian community unique in comparison to others. The most interesting cultural expression is that El Guayabo's people shaped their village in an unexpected manner. The meaning of this cultural landscape can be translated as opposition against oppression. To explain this, environmental symbolism is one means whereby social identity and reality are created. The symbolization of social process is a significant response to cultural stress. (Rowntree et al., 1980: 459). El Guayabo people differentiate themselves from the neighboring town, then Chincha, and lastly Lima through their cultural landscape.

The symbolic importance of place together with their Afro-Peruvian characteristics, are a source of pride and singularity. Oppression for the villagers was and

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<sup>139</sup> M: Before, the town of Guayabo was full of blacks like us, French black, Cameroonian blacks. But now, our race is mixing. If you come back five years from now, you will not find blacks but rather blacks that look more like mestizos.

still is being represented by the Hacienda. El Guayabo self awareness was partially formed by the proximity to the Hacienda San José. The hacienda represents the memory of slavery. How can they forget about it, if they can see the room where punishment was administered and they hear the stories of the elders about masters branding the slave's skins as if they were oxen? Nowadays, the Hacienda San Jose is a four star hotel that the owners try to maintain as in the eighteenth hundreds. Among their services they offer historical- touristic tours inside the Hacienda's main house and the guide makes reference to the slave trade, the distribution of slaves in the surrounding towns, and to the slaves' conditions inside the Hacienda. The personnel working for the Hacienda is hired from nearby towns in addition to the performers that dance on the weekends as part of the entertainment.

Other component of the self awareness is the social pressure exerted by the capital, Lima. This pressure is not as strong as the pressures that many Afro-Peruvians living in Lima can experience, but it is strong enough to create a self-awareness-consciousness towards the capital and its social stress. The Afro-Peruvians living in Lima experience the strongest pressure, leading them to deny who they are. This leads to the construction of a negative identity.

This negative identity is linked in part to the stereotypes. Many Afro-Peruvians in Lima think that their only way to insert themselves into society is by limiting themselves to the socially accepted roles of the hierarchical society of Peru. Many Afro-Peruvians have been convinced by the media and the same society of racial differences, and that the only identity worth having is to excel in sports or entertainment (Smedley, 1998: 697).

Therefore, Afro-Peruvians living in Lima who do not excel in sports or music feel that they do not belong. In addition, the black “zoning” through the black neighborhoods of Lima constituted another mode of segregation. These black neighborhoods were linked with bad living conditions since its settlement during colonial times. In these black neighborhoods you will also find living mestizos, Indigenous, and other ethnic groups, but these neighborhoods were considered predominantly black neighborhoods as a result of the strong dominance of the Afro-Peruvian culture (Panfinchi, 2000:3). For instance, one of the most important neighborhoods is Malambo, originally a jail for slaves, and then, next to it the first Lima city dump. Later, a hospital for people infected with leprosy was built and annexed to a church in 1563, called San Lazaro. In 1716, a hospice for leprosy, blinds, and crippled people was created. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Malambo was a community of forty-four streets with 4,560 people (Panfinchi, 2000:5). Life in black neighborhoods was well known for its strong cultural and religious character, but also these neighborhoods were well known for their negative connotations, such as impoverishment, illness, and criminality; ideas that were and are linked to the inhabitants of these places. These negative connotations make it difficult for them to have a positive identification of themselves in relation to their place and in relation to their position within the society.

These negative aspects can be contrasted with the El Guayabo people that are not exposed directly to the displacement and hierarchical categorization, and find pride in their simple lifestyle and work.

As an example, in his declaration, Mario Cartagena told me about life in his town:



**Fig. 27.** Mario Cartagena.

*Mario: La vida en El Guayabo es algo! ....medio clásico, medio loco, no sé. Queda la reseña de lo que era la gente de la chacra, la gente que metía la lampa<sup>140</sup> (6/18/08).*

He described the nature of life in his town as something special, contrasting historical traditions with their current enthusiasm; emphasizing their work tradition, as Begonia Campos did when I asked her the same question:

*Begonia: El ambiente del pueblo. La gente del Guayabo son bien unidas, tenemos esa raza morena que se dice ¿no? Desde tiempo atrás llevamos la misma costumbre.*

*Carola: ¿La mayoría lleva la misma costumbre?*

*Begonia: Si, la mayoría sale a trabajar, mayormente en el algodón, el maíz esas cosas<sup>141</sup> (7/23/08).*

She accentuates race, work and tradition. For the villagers, work is part of their identity.

Their work is mentioned in their oral history, their music; their daily life spins around work and land. They like their work, as Melchor Cartagena told me:

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<sup>140</sup> M: Life in Guayabo is something!...kind of classic, kind of crazy, I don't know. There still are those traces of what used to be people from the farm, the people who used shovels.

<sup>141</sup> C What is the thing that you like most about your town? B: The environment of the town. The people from Guayabo are very united. We have that black race. We have kept the same customs for a long time. C: Do most people practice the same custom? B: Yes, most go out to work mostly in the cotton, the corn, those things.

*Carola: ¿Qué es lo que más te gusta de tu vida en El Guayabo?*  
*Melchor: Trabajar en la chacra, estar con mis amigos, a veces salgo a Chincha a trabajar*<sup>142</sup> (7/3/08).

And at the same time children start learning the value of work. In a conversation with Alexandra, a five year old, she told me:



**Fig. 28.** Alexandra

Mejía.

*Carola: ¿Qué es lo que más te gusta de tu pueblo?*  
*Alexandra: Jugar, bailar, saltar....ver como trabajan, correr, ver como trabajan así*<sup>143</sup> (7/3/08).

The work in the field is

hard for children, but they grow up appreciating the effort, as Percy remembers:

*Carola: Me contaba Ali que iban todos a trabajar en la chacra.*  
*Percy: Si sobre todo a la paña del algodón. Imagínate levantarte a las 4 am. e ir después al colegio es pesado. Y muchas veces, eso me tocó vivir a mí, no teníamos desayuno balanceado para poder resistir el trabajo y el día del colegio, era muy duro. Eso no ha cambiado mucho*<sup>144</sup> (7/22/08).

## VI D. Communal and Individual Identity

<sup>142</sup> C: What is the thing that you like most about your life in your town? M: Working the land, spending time with my friends, sometimes I go to Chincha to work.

<sup>143</sup> C: What is the thing that you like most about your town? A: Playing, dancing, jumping...observe how people work, run, see them working in that way.

<sup>144</sup> C: Ali was telling me that everyone went to work on the land. M: Yes, especially picking cotton. Can you imagine getting up at 4 a.m. and then having to go to school later, it is exhausting. And many times, that happened to me. We did not have a balanced breakfast so we could do both work and school. It was something very hard. That hasn't changed very much.

*Carola: En pocas palabras ¿cómo describes El Guayabo?*

*Sandra: Música, comida, alegría, y trabajo*<sup>145</sup> (8/11/08)



**Fig. 29.** María Palma viuda de Peña “Tia Mariquita” is the oldest person in El Guayabo, and she recites *Décimas*.

From the forty eight ethnographic interviewees who were asked the question “How do you feel as a member of your community?” only three answers were not completely positive. Their sense of “we-ness” and belonging is strongly expressed through the members of the community. And as a collective expression, the analysis of symbols can provide a multitiered analysis of collective identification

(Loomba, 1998: 396).

The villagers have a very strong communal identity, based on relationships between the people and their feelings about their sense of place. They always place strong emphasis on people, because only some of them are aware of the meaning of their relationship with their place. They know they are different because of the different distribution of their houses, because of the welcoming nature of the people, and because of the pride in their blackness.

<sup>145</sup> Carola: In few words, how would you describe El Guayabo. Sandra: Music, food, happiness and work.

In El Guayabo, Don Alejandro Cartagena, aged 72, said this about his town:

*Alejandro: La gente que son humildes, la gente que no hace daño. Mira desde que yo nací, nunca ha habido una muerte aquí. Mi mama murió de 82 años. Guayabo me gusta por que es un sitio muy sano. Todo el que viene lo tratamos con cariño. Tu que dices? Sí o no?*

*Carola: Sí. ¿Qué me puede decir sobre la música, la cocina?*

*A: Aquí en Guayabo la comida es mundial. Todo el que viene aquí y son amigas le damos posada, le damos de dormir le damos comida y no le cobramos nada ¿Ya has comido lo que prepara mi hija?<sup>146</sup>(7/22/08).*

Don Cartagena's words demonstrate his pride in the safeness of the village, the welcoming and humble people, and the delicious food. As a community, they call themselves *familia* which for them has a different connotation. As José Campos said in "Lo Africano en la cultura Criolla"; the term *familia* goes beyond physical and territorial borders. It is a term that was born in Chincha but it has extended in all directions in the territory where black and mestizo communities exist without distinctions<sup>147</sup>. The issue is that they are really related to each other, as Félix Portilla "Maravilloso", told me:

*Carola: ¿Como te sientes siendo parte de la comunidad del Guayabo?*

*Felix: Bueno me siento feliz aquí en Guayabo con toda la comunidad completa, por que la mayoría aquí somos parientes. Todos somos familia, y si todos somos familia todos somos felices<sup>148</sup>(7/24/08).*

In El Guayabo one becomes a member of the family by a commitment of friendship, and it does not matter how long one has been in contact with them. For example, during a

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<sup>146</sup> A: People are humble, they don't hurt people. Look, ever since I was born, there has never been a murder here. My mother died at the age of 82. I like Guayabo because it's a very healthy place. Everyone who comes, we treat them with affection. What do you think? Yes or no? C: Yes. What can you tell me about the music, food? A: Here in Guayabo, the food is international. Have you eaten what my daughter prepares? Everyone that comes here and who are our friends, welcome them, we give them a place to sleep, food, and we don't charge them a thing.

<sup>147</sup> From José Campos "La Familia Campos" In Lo Africano en la Cultura Criolla, 191.

<sup>148</sup> C: How do you feel about being part of the Guayabo community? F: Well I feel very happy here in Guayabo, with the whole community because the majority here are relatives. We are all family, and if we're all family, we're all happy

party in El Guayabo (at the second week of my stay) I needed a glass and the owner Mamainé told me: “*Pasa! Tu ya eres familia.*”<sup>149</sup>

Inside El Guayabo, the villagers are aware of their position but also of their background as individuals. Italo Palma, during a meeting had the innovative idea of being the one to interview his friends, and this was the result:

*Italo: ¿Qué crees tú de las raíces negras?*

*Martín: Las raíces negras no son peruanas. Nosotros somos Afro descendientes, la raza de nosotros realmente no pertenece al Perú. Y la raza de nosotros llego cuando los españoles nos trajeron a nosotros, por que yo me incluyo allí, como esclavos. Y los primeros corruptos fueron los curas<sup>150</sup>, y allí los hacendados nos tenían y hacían con nosotros lo que ellos querían, pero ahora gracias a Dios somos libres y tenemos los mismos derechos como todos los demás.*

*Italo: A ver Andrés lo que ha dicho mi primo Martín Palma de los Afro descendientes, ¿como te sientes?*

*Andrés: Como negro. Yo me siento orgulloso de mi color, claro que Martín ya dijo todo, no me dejo nada que hablar. Estoy muy orgulloso de ser negro y sobre todo de aquí del pueblo del Guayabo. Me siento bien por mi color negra que tengo.*

*Italo: ¡Muy bien! Ahora vamos a entrevistar a la entrevistadora. Pues hombre! Carola Ramírez, la pregunta del millón de dólares. ¿Cómo te sientes de haber llegado al Guayabo y haberte encontrado con tantos negros hermosos?*

*Carola: Me siento como en casa, me encanta estar aquí, no me quiero ir<sup>151</sup> (7/10/08).*

Their awareness of their black roots is always present, even in their leisure times.

It was interesting when Italo acted as an interviewer, since he was a member of the community asking the others how they felt about being Afro descendants. When Martín

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<sup>149</sup> Go ahead and take it yourself! You're family now.

<sup>150</sup> Priest

<sup>151</sup> I: What do you think about black roots? M: Black roots are not Peruvian. We are Afro descendants; our race does not really belong to Peru. Our race came to Peru when the Spaniards brought us, and I include myself in this, like slaves. And the first of the corrupt ones were the priests, and then the landowners who owned us and did to us whatever they wanted. But now, thanks to God we're free and we have rights just like everyone else. I: Andrés, in regards to what my cousin Martín Palma has said about the Afro descendants, how do you feel? A: As a black person [joking]. I feel proud of my color, of course Martín has already said everything, so he left me with nothing else to add. I feel very proud of being black, but specially, I feel very proud of being from Guayabo. I feel good of my black color that I have. I: Very good! Now we are going to interview the interviewer. Carola Ramírez, the million dollar question. How do you feel about having arrived in Guayabo and having met all these beautiful black people? C: I feel like I am at home, I love being here, I don't want to leave.



said “when the Spaniards brought us”, he included himself as a part of the imaginary African community. Later he accepted his Peruvian part including himself in the national picture saying “we have the same rights as everyone else”. They also have notions that they were subjugated and by whom, although they overcame this issue by valuing their uniqueness. Moreover, if they were not proud and confident, they would not have asked me how I felt being with them.

After the interview we kept talking about blackness as a normal issue. They were sure that if they were not important, I would not be there. It is interesting to see that they never lose an opportunity to joke even about their blackness. In my interviews, it was made clear that these elements are present in their collective memory. Collective memory is defined by Jeffrey Olick (1999: 335)<sup>152</sup> as the active past that forms our identities, and the El Guayabo villagers have it very clear. This collective memory supported by the symbols constituted by the Hacienda and their random-pattern of distribution. Collective memories are based in a society and its inventory of signs and symbols (Kansteiner, 2002: 188)<sup>153</sup>. In the case of El Guayabo, they were able to keep this collective memory because they remained together sharing the same past and symbols.

As a contrast, the communities of Ingenio and Yapatera in northern Peru forgot about the slave trade and some their African past. Although they know about slavery, most people do not know that slavery was particular to people of African descent. They consider their African origins unimportant (Golash-Boza, 2007: 110) and they are not conscious of the symbols that unite them as a community. As an example, the hacienda Buenos Aires was in the zone where Ingenio is, and it was officially ended in 1854. Also,

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<sup>152</sup> Cited by Golash Boza in Left in the dark .pg 106..

<sup>153</sup> Cited by Golash Boza in Left in the dark .pg 107.

the level of miscegenation of these groups was really high (Golash-Boza, 2007: 114) which means that their identity as an ethnic group ceased to exist a long time ago, if it ever existed. The miscegenation also suggests race mixture had no importance for northern people.

Part of their blackness is the ancestral cultural roots they share and have passed through generations. Individuals learned the lessons from the elders and so on, Robert Campos said about how he learned and lived:

*Carola: ¿Qué me puedes decir de la cultura de tu pueblo?*

*Robert: Se ha caracterizado por su gente alegre. Ha habido gentes que han dejado cultura, muchas cosas que no sabemos. Música, letras, una base. Cosas que no se puede. Treinta, cuarenta años atrás, mi abuelito era caporal, zapateaba en el atajo de negritos acá en El Carmen con Amador Ballumbrosio en ese tiempo. En el 92 llegan a buscar gente para zapatear, él pensó que iba a salir mas gente<sup>154</sup>(7/25/08).*

They know they have changed, but not like the others. The bad thing is that during the change, some elements such as music and lyrics were lost, but the bases remained through time. They state that they keep more traditional cultural expressions because they were not as influenced by the outside. For example, Felix Portilla marks a difference in the dance *festejo* (their main dance):

*Carola: ¿Cómo ha cambiado el festejo?*

*Felix: Todo ha cambiado, pero las chicas de acá llevan la tradición antigua. Bailan como los antiguos, por que ellas viene arrastrando la tradición, la hija esta viendo como baila la madre, y la madre vio a la abuela...el baile es tradicionalmente antiguo<sup>155</sup>(7/24/08).*

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<sup>154</sup> C: What can you say about the culture of your town? R It has been characterized by its happy people. There have been people that have left culture, a lot of things we don't know. Music, lyrics, a base. Things that you can't [imagine]. Thirty, forty years ago, my grandfather danced characterizing an overseer or *caporal*, He tapped in the dance company of black people here in El Carmen, with Amador Ballumbrosio. In that time, in 1992, they search for people to tap; he thought he would find more people.

<sup>155</sup> C: How has *festejo* changed? F: Everything has changed, but the girls here carry out the old tradition. They dance like the ones before them because they carry out the tradition. The daughter is looking at how the mother dances, and the mother looked at the grandmother...the dance is traditionally old.

Felix describes how the tradition is passed from the mother to the daughter in such a natural process they can interpret it by themselves, as Sandra said:

*Carola: Y que me puedes decir. Ya he visto que a Sandrita le están enseñando a bailar. ¿Tú dices que le están enseñando o que aprenden solas?*

*Sandra: Acá todo el mundo aprende solo. Si es que perteneces a algún grupo que forman, ensayan para hacer la coreografía. Pero acá se baila la música negra, como si tu bailas tu salsa un huayno, es natural...solo ensayas para hacer coreografías. Hay un grupo de chicos bailan ensayan media horita, una horita, y ya. En realidad todos bailan, no todos bailan en grupos, pero la gente acá nace con la música<sup>156</sup>(8/3/08).*

As Sandra talked of her daughter, Nayeli, a six year old told me about how she spent her leisure time:

*Carola: ¿Que haces en tus ratos libres?*

*Nayeli: Juego a las chapadas,*

*Carola: ¿Que más?*

*Nayeli: Bailo festejo,*

*Carola: ¿Quién te enseñó?*

*Nayeli: yo sola aprendí<sup>157</sup>(7/22/08).*

As is evident, this sensation of expressing themselves is cultivated since they are young, as Alexandra dances with Nayeli as they saw the big girls and mothers doing it.

Moreover, they say they carry it in their blood. The good feeling of dancing is also accompanied by the use of their costumes. I asked Cinthia what she felt when she used her costume, and she said: *Cuando me pongo la ropa me siento feliz contenta con ganas de seguir bailando y no parar nunca<sup>158</sup>(7/18/08).*

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<sup>156</sup>C: And what can you tell me, I've seen that they're teaching Sandrita how to dance. Could you say that they are teaching her or that she learned it by herself? S: Here everybody learns by themselves if you belong to a group that gathers just so that they can practice the choreography. But here people dance to black music, just like you dance your *salsa*, *huayno*, it's natural...they only practice to make up the choreography. There are groups that practice half an hour, one hour and that's it. In reality, everybody dance, not everyone dances in groups, but people here are born with the music in them.

<sup>157</sup> C: What do you do in your times of leisure? N: I play tag. C: What else? N: I dance *festejo*. C: Who taught you? N: I learned by myself.

<sup>158</sup> When I put the outfit on, I feel happy, content, so that I like to keep on dancing and never stop

## VI E. National position

The devaluation of African slaves still haunts their descendants in metropolitan in metropolitan societies, the inequities of colonial rule still structure wages and opportunities for migrants from once-colonized countries or communities, the racial stereotypes that we identified earlier still circulate, and contemporary global imbalances are built upon those inequities that were consolidated during the colonial era (Loomba, 1998: 129)

People from El Guayabo and from the neighboring communities are aware of their position within the country and also in relation to Lima, the capital. They know they have limited resources, but in spite of this, they prefer their simple life to that of life in the city.

Sandra Farfán, a Guayabo settler says: *“Yo no viviría en Lima. Acá tengo tiempo para mis hijos, mis amigos. Soy pobre pero vivo tranquila”*<sup>159</sup>.

Another issue is that in the countryside Afro-Peruvians are aware of the discrimination in Lima, an important urban area. In the neighboring town El Carmen lives Amador Ballumbrosio, one of the most important and oldest exponents of the Afro-Peruvian culture. While he feels discrimination in El Carmen, he recognizes that living in Lima would be worse. He wrote:

*“Sufro discriminación y sigo, tropiezo y no caigo. Estoy seguro que estar en la ciudad es más duro que ir de puños desde las siete de la mañana hasta las doce, detrás de un surco de algodón, pero no puedo cambiar lo que me toca vivir de este lado”*<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>159</sup> I would not live in Lima. Here I have time for my children and friends. I am poor but I live care free.

<sup>160</sup> I suffer discrimination and I go ahead, I trip and I don't fall down. I am sure that being in the city is harder than go on your knuckles from seven to twelve behind a cotton groove/line, but I can't change what I happened to live in this countryside. From Amador Ballumbrosio (Carazas, 2002:172)

Even though they know that they lack national support, they keep on in their fight for a rise in social status. Mamainé, said she got into politics just to help her people, and about the El Guayabo current situation, she said:

*Carola: ¿Cómo crees que está ahora la situación de tu pueblo?*

*Mamainé: La situación. Mi pueblo estaba saliendo adelante, pero se ha estancado por el terremoto del quince de agosto, pero mi pueblo sigue y mi gente sigue saliendo adelante, sobre todo la gente negra de aquí del Guayabo. Ahora hay muchos negros profesionales lo que antes no había antes hace diez, once años atrás, cuando tu has venido eso no había, no se podía. Ahora tenemos médicos, tengo una hija que es enfermera, otra va a ser secretaria, mi hijo va a ser chef internacional, la otra está estudiando en Cuba por que obtuvo una beca para estudiar ingeniería forestal, claro que los negros estamos saliendo adelante. Me da mucho orgullo, por eso me da pena de ver tanta juventud que termina la secundaria unas salen embarazadas y otros se dedican a trabajar en la chacra, no desmerezco el trabajo pero ahora la juventud tiene más oportunidades de las que tuvimos nosotros<sup>161</sup> (7/22/08).*

There are the young people like Luis, who continue to hope that his town will be recognized.

*Carola: ¿Qué quisieran para el futuro del pueblo?*

*Luis: Más que todo, que el pueblo sea reconocido, por su gente, por su carisma y por su cultura que tiene<sup>162</sup> (7/24/08).*

And recognition is important, because they want everybody to admire their town as they do and to know how unique it is. They deserve attention because they are important, not only as citizens but also for being contributors to the Peruvian society.

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<sup>161</sup> C How do you think the current situation of your town is? M: The situation...my town was moving forward, but it's now been standstill because of the earthquake that occurred on August 15, but my town moves on and my people keep moving forward, especially the black people here in Guayabo. Now there are more professional black people, something that was not the case before. 10 or 11 years ago, before you came we didn't have that, we couldn't. Now we have doctors. I have a daughter who is a nurse, the other one will be a secretary, and my son will be an international chef. Another daughter is studying in Cuba because she won a scholarship to study forest engineering. Of course black people are moving forward, it makes me very proud. That's why it makes me sad that a lot of youths who finish high school, some end up pregnant and others dedicate themselves to the farm. I'm not putting down that type of work, but young people now have more opportunities than we did before.

<sup>162</sup> C: What would you like for the future of the town? L: Above all things, that the village be appreciated for its people, its charisma and the culture it possesses.

El Guayabo people have a land and a culturally defined place to sustain them not only economically, but socially. Their place is the reflection of their historical process and their interaction with their environment. This interaction is projected in their random-pattern of distribution, the way they build their houses, even the dusty landscape. These characteristics have become symbols of pride and resistance. The random distribution pattern appears to have emerged as a means of resistance against the Spanish domination; at least they express that in their statements. Nowadays, this former resistance constitutes an actual source of pride, their land ownership allows them to have more free time than farmers who have to rent the land. This time is used to develop their unique culture, to spend time with their friends and family, and strengthen their sense of *familia*.

Lima, the capital, constitutes an “epicenter” of social pressure. That means that its concentric effect lessens as the distance increases. As a product of this pressure, the Afro-Peruvians that live in the capital are segregated not only socially but also spatially. Individuals are relegated to certain zones of Lima, particularly the city’s slums. Some of these marginal zones were settled during the colonial period, while others were the product of segregation. This issue, added to the population density factor, causes a stronger social friction. While Lima contains close to a third of the national population, the countryside consists of fewer individuals per square kilometer. These circumstances propitiated in Lima’s Afro-Peruvians, the developing of existential mechanisms for dealing with feelings of resentment and hostility, shared by the members in the marginal group of the lower class.

In El Guayabo, the villagers are owners of their land and space, they share their village with the Indigenous who live in the town, and they are far from Lima’s pressure.

Their positive identity has several components, but the most important is their land ownership. These Afro-Peruvians work their lands and participate in the development of the region. Consequently, El Guayabo finds itself in a position close enough to the capital that its social pressure heightens their awareness of their African descent. Yet, they are far away enough to allow them to development of their own space. One can contrast this with the Yapatera and Ingenio communities in northern Peru, where they see their African origins as unimportant. The lack of awareness could be a product of the distance from the capital that may be one reason for their high percentage of miscegenation and lack of collective memory.

Moreover, El Guayabo's people express in their words the hope of true recognition. They do not want to be trapped in stereotypes. The Afro-Peruvians images are of former slaves, football players, cooks, and performers; but they are saying: 'we are not limited to that'. They hope to be recognized as workers, families, professionals, students, or better yet, as a significant part of society.

The recognition of Afro-Peruvians by the nation-state throughout history was just a rhetorical strategy to avoid taking more substantive action toward national integration. Such actions as the freeing of the slaves or agrarian reform always had other objectives important to the elite. Peruvian society still has a colonial social stratification where segregation and racism remains as a part of the national identity.

Even so, El Guayabo's population is moving forward despite the adversity within the Peruvian society. They have a positive identity to overcome segregation. They are working, studying, and achieving their goals. They are fighting against the stereotypes that impede knowing them better, and as a consequence knowing ourselves better.

## VII . Conclusions

Since the time of slavery, El Guayabo's settlers have been working in the same place, in the Hacienda San José, and have remained in the same geographical area to the present day. Over time, their settlement has suffered several disruptive changes brought on by economic, social and political transformations. During slavery, working either for the Jesuits or for the *hacendados*, they were always working under someone else's command. After slave emancipation, the free Afro-Peruvians lacked material resources and their consequent resort to peonage turned out to be another form of "slavery." When the agrarian reform was promulgated, and El Guayabo's people had access to land under the cooperative regime, the new system only worked because of government subsidies. Nowadays, they lack such government protection through subsidies, so they cannot compete with the external market.

After all the historical changes, El Guayabo became a thriving village, and its collective memory is very vivid. After all the humiliation and indifference, they have achieved pride based on their culture, which developed due to their connection with their land and complex cultural syncretism. El Guayabo's identity is reflected in such syncretic elements and through the symbols captured in their cultural expressions, which are the product of history.

El Guayabo villagers added to such syncretic elements the remnants of their African collective memory. This is evident in the way they proclaim their faith, in their unique form of expression, linked to music and dance, that includes important elements of animistic African religions, and that have allowed them to mix life with death, and happiness with sadness. Another element of their collective memory is the aptitude to



create instruments for percussion using ubiquitous materials found in their natural environment.

El Guayabo's people have a land and a culturally defined place to sustain them, not only economically, but also socially. Their place is the reflection of their traditions and their interaction with their environment. As a response to the Spanish oppression El Guayabo's villagers may have expressed social stress through the "random village distribution geographical pattern, even though what was born as a symbol of stress and resistance constitutes nowadays a symbol of pride. The operating hacienda San José is another factor that creates awareness, and later they made their land part of their positive identity, and land ownership turned this process into an even stronger connection with the land itself. The El Guayabo's cultural landscape is also enriched by a special type of house architecture, which according to its Afro-Peruvian inhabitants, has a unique African touch.

Another positive side of land ownership is the possibility of individual management of time. This way, they have enough time to work and to develop their unique culture, to spend time with their friends and family, and to strengthen their sense of *familia*. According to their own testimonials, the villagers are proud and happy to belong to El Guayabo where everybody is family, both by family lineage as well as by personal commitment. This factor, their enlarged sense of family and belonging, is also key to the development of their positive identity.

Another factor that affects El Guayabo's identity is the distance from Lima, the capital, which constitutes an "epicenter" of social pressure, meaning that its concentric effect lessens as the distance increases.

In El Guayabo, the Afro-Peruvians are owners of their own land and space in contrast to those living in Lima, where they are segregated, not only socially, but also spatially. Afro-Peruvians are relegated to certain zones of Lima, particularly the city's slums. Consequently, El Guayabo finds itself in a hybrid position, close enough to the capital that its social pressure heightens their awareness of African descent, yet far away enough to allow for the development and maintenance of communal space and culture. By comparison, the Yapatera and Ingenio communities in Piura, lack consciousness of their African descent and thus lack a cultural basis for community cohesion. When the distance from the center of social pressure is greater, the awareness of African roots decreases, which can translate into lack of collective memory, which plays an important role in identity construction.

For El Guayabo people in the first place, one can identify as an element of their positive identity the land ownership, that means for the villagers the achieving of a social position that they have been denied since the colonial period. Their collective memory is very vivid thanks to the symbols they share. According to personal interviews, the random distribution pattern of the houses helps people remember that they reacted in different ways to oppression. The closeness to the hacienda, and its importance in the region as an historical-touristic place, makes it impossible to forget their past; on a broader level, the proximity of the capital, creates awareness of the discrimination suffered in the country. Awareness of Lima exert over El Guayabo, is necessary to keep

alive the question of their separate identity. By comparison, this is a non-existent issue in the Yapatera and Ingenio Afro-Peruvian communities, where they see their African descent as unimportant, because they lack this awareness.

El Guayabo's people look forward to a more inclusive reality, and nowadays their biggest challenge is to balance their pride against the indifference of the larger Peruvian society. The historical recognition of Afro-Peruvians by the Nation-State throughout time was typically just a rhetorical strategy to avoid taking more substantive action towards their effective national integration. Such actions as the freeing of slaves or the agrarian reform always fulfilled other important objectives for the elite. The Peruvian society still complies with the colonial social stratification, where segregation and racism remain a substantial part of national identity. The latter is never going to be complete, at least until it includes all the different identities the country encompasses within its national borders.

Stereotypes about Afro-Peruvians present them as former slaves, free men, football players, cooks, and performers; however, they need to be recognized as workers, family, professionals, and students; in essence, as an important part of society.

El Guayabo's population is moving forward despite the adversity they constantly face within the Peruvian society. Communities have always adapted to deal with external impositions and have been forced to follow models that seem unrelated to their reality. El Guayabo's community has developed an unmistakable positive identity in order to overcome segregation. Because El Guayabo has such a strong and ancient culture, they have developed their own cultural tools in order to deal with the aforementioned types of change. This way, the community is able to change, but still retains its unique culture.

From their lack of conventional streets, passing through the erratic pattern of distribution of their houses, to their unique way of adapting and keeping up with their Afro-Peruvian character as a mean to accommodate imposed changes, the El Guayabo's community has consistently displayed its cultural integrity and symbiotic relationship with its surrounding environment. Ultimately, these key factors congregate to shape this geographical area into its unique cultural landscape and place in the region, the nation-state, and the world.

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